David A. Wacks

# Medieval Iberian Crusade Fiction and the Mediterranean World

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# MEDIEVAL IBERIAN CRUSADE FICTION AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

*for Katharine*

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# Note on Translation and Transliteration

Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. For transliterations of Arabic words I use a modified version of the system used by the *Journal of Arabic Literature*. In both languages the letter *ayin* is indicated by the character ‘-. In some cases I have opted for conventional transliterations of proper names and nouns that are more commonly known in English (i.e., Abbasid vs. ‘Abbasid or Abdallah vs. ‘Abd-Allah).

# MEDIEVAL IBERIAN CRUSADE FICTION AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

# Introduction
## Medieval Iberian Crusade Culture and the Mediterranean World

The studies in this book look at how Iberian authors reimagined the idea of crusade through the lens of Iberian Mediterranean geopolitics and social history. Why the Mediterranean framework? What does a Mediterranean studies approach add to the study of these materials?

Mediterranean studies reframes the study of history and culture with an approach defined not by national histories and literatures, but rather by geography, and regional cultural practices and historical processes. It focuses not on "roots," as have national literatures and histories, but on routes, itineraries, crossings, exchanges, and the types of cultural production and interaction that Mediterranean trade, travel, and migration make possible. Brian Catlos has remarked that Mediterranean studies focuses on the "commonality of culture … despite the region's ethno-culturally fractured nature" ("Why the Mediterranean?" 5). Thinking about the interconnectedness of Mediterranean geography and cultural practice allows us to understand local histories and cultural practices as part of broader networks that span languages, religions, ethnic identities, and cultural practices.[1] Under the influence of the nationalist ideologies of the nineteenth-century scholars who shaped the academic fields in which we work, we tend to perceive (and teach) these histories and cultures in large part as national traditions, or at best as part of a "Western" (meaning Latin Christian or western European) civilization. However, the people whose lives and works we study understood their world in ways that do not resemble or coincide with the categories of inquiry developed by modern academic study. According to Catlos, deprivileging these categories allows "developments that seem anomalous, exceptional, or inexplicable when viewed through the narrow lens of one religio-cultural tradition, [to] suddenly make sense when viewed from the perspective of a broader interconnected and interdependent Mediterranean" ("Why the

Mediterranean?" 14). As I hope the studies in this book demonstrate, this is the primary advantage of studying medieval Iberian literature in its Mediterranean context.

The story of Mediterranean studies begins with Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II), published in France, on the heels of the Second World War in 1949. Braudel's chief innovation was to frame the Mediterranean as a category of historical study, and he divided this inquiry into three levels: the deep and slow-moving current of geographical time, the *longue durée* of social and economic history, and the superficial history of individual people and events. Braudel's students and readers developed his ideas along different lines, focusing on physical geography and its effects on human history, and, to a lesser extent, cultural practice.

The work of S.D. Goitein, a historian of the Jewish Mediterranean, was likewise foundational in developing a consciousness of medieval Jewish culture as a Mediterranean phenomenon. His multivolume study of the documents found in the Cairo Geniza and archived by the team of scholars working under Solomon Schechter at Cambridge University has come to define the field, and his students and students' students continue to study medieval Jewish Mediterranean as, to use S.D. Goitein's words, a "Mediterranean Society."[2]

The most important recent intervention has been Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), an ambitious, interdisciplinary, and challenging study of Mediterranean geography and ecological history. Current scholars working in the emergent field of Mediterranean studies received the work variously as a call to arms, or provocation to study the region's histories and cultures in ways that challenge national and other, more parochial approaches. Not surprisingly, scholars who are heavily invested in the established paradigms, may feel threatened, and instinctively push back against this new approach. Consequently, Horden and Purcell's contribution attracted its fair share of criticism.[3] The work of David Abulafia (*Emporium*; *Western*; *Great Sea*) continues in Braudel's line but focuses on how human history has shaped the Mediterranean world. In his own words his goal is "to bring to the fore the human experience of crossing the Mediterranean or of living in the port towns and islands that depended for their existence on the sea" (*Great Sea* 24). He thus opens the door to Mediterranean-focused studies of human cultural production such as art history, religion, and literature.

The medieval cultures of the Mediterranean provide rich subject matter for this approach, with the questions of coexisting religions

(many varieties of Islam, Judaism, Christianity), empires (Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Mameluk, Holy Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Genoese, Aragonese, Spanish, Ottoman), diasporas (Armenian, Jewish, Andalusi, Sephardic), classical languages (Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Syriac) and various vernaculars and koinés (too numerous to list) in constant and dynamic contact, whether through war and conquest, exploitation and slavery, trade and pilgrimage, migration and diplomacy, and other types of movement and contact that shape agricultural, economic, political, religious, literary, and artistic practices.

Mediterranean studies has been dominated by classicists (including archaeologists and anthropologists) and historians of the medieval and early modern periods. Ancient archaeology and anthropology were quicker to respond to Horden and Purcell's challenge than literary scholarship, a field mostly organized into departments of national languages whose practitioners are trained to focus on a single language and national tradition (Akbari, "Persistence" 4–5). Literary scholars have come late to the party, and so Mediterranean Literature is only now emerging as a category, thanks to the efforts of Sharon Kinoshita, Karla Mallette, Suzanne Akbari, and others.[4] Nearly all of these scholars work in departments of national literatures, but build on the work of Horden and Purcell and others in order to privilege the Mediterranean context of the traditions they study and their connections to authors, works, and practices normally studied in connection to other, national literatures.[5] This approach is a natural fit for someone who works, for example, on medieval classical languages that were used throughout the region, or the literary practice of Mediterranean religious traditions.[6]

Part of the difficulty in mobilizing literary scholars to adopt a Mediterranean approach is overcoming not only the institutional cultures of departments of national languages and literatures, but also the sheer linguistic complexity of the region. Again, the legacy of national philology pushes anything that does not support a national linguistic narrative to the margins. The Mediterranean, a space of connectivity and contact across languages, religions, and ethnic cultures, produced literary and linguistic practices, such as *aljamiado* (Iberian Romance written in Arabic or Hebrew script) that are "puzzling curiosities to modern eyes but were in fact unexceptional in the multilingual, multi-confessional landscape of the medieval Mediterranean" (Kinoshita, "Mediterranean Literature" 315).

The resulting kaleidoscope of medieval Mediterranean literary and linguistic practice, though fascinating and ripe with literary critical possibility, is daunting: who can learn all those languages? María Rosa Menocal, writing about the Iberian question, tells us that translations

are "vital" in studying Mediterranean literature.[7] Her suggestion goes very much against the grain of national philologies' role as guardian of linguistic boundaries: think of the work that goes into enforcing the distinction between "language" and "dialect." However, in many cases here the ideologies that guide national philologies do not bear close scrutiny. Take for example, Kinoshita's observation that epic poems such as the *Poem of the Cid* or the *Song of Roland*, canonized in modernity as foundational national works, have a manuscript record that is very poor in comparison with that of works of wisdom literature in translation from Eastern traditions such as *Kalila and Dimna* or *Sendebar*. She writes: "versions of wisdom literature like the *Seven Sages* survive in the dozens, while the *Poem of the Cid* or the *Song of Roland* come down to us in a single exemplar" ("Negotiating" 35–6).

What, then, does Mediterranean studies have to offer to literary criticism? As critics such as Suzanne Akbari, Sharon Kinoshita ("Medieval Mediterranean Literature"; "Mediterranean Literature"; "Negotiating"), Karla Mallette (*Sicily*; "Boustrophedon"; "Lingua Franca"), Michelle Hamilton and Núria Silleras-Fernández have written, reading the literature of the Mediterranean region as Mediterranean Literature can be a corrective to the parochialism of national philologies. I have written elsewhere in favour of a multilingual and multiconfessional approach to medieval Iberian literature, arguing that it might help to get us closer to how medieval Iberians experienced the literary practice of their own time and place, rather than persist in some of the habits we have learned from national philology that make this less likely (*Framing Iberia* 11). Kinoshita expands this argument for the corpus of Mediterranean literature as a whole. According to her, this approach "expands the limits of our textual world and provides us with a repertoire of different questions that bespeak the connectivity … of the medieval Mediterranean, getting us (I would like to think) closer to the mentalities of the cultures and agents that produced the texts we read" ("Negotiating" 46). This is my goal in the studies that follow this introduction: to read Iberian literature as a Mediterranean cultural practice that is shaped by the geography and culture of the region ("of the Mediterranean"), and that demonstrates how Iberian writers and audiences imagined the Mediterranean world in which they lived.

This is certainly not the first effort to study medieval Iberian cultural production in the Mediterranean context. A number of studies and especially collections of essays have brought together scholars focusing on different aspects of Spain or the Iberian Peninsula in the Mediterranean context.[8] The cultures of the Iberian Peninsula are very much both *in* and *of* the Iberian. Antiquity connected Iberia with metropoles

in Phoenicia, Rome, Byzantium, and Africa. Medieval Iberian monarchs ruled over territories across the Mediterranean: the Balaerics, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples and southern Italy, parts of the Maghrib, Ifriqiyya, and Greece had outposts in ports across the Islamic Mediterranean, and claimed (successfully, or not) authority over north Africa and the then-ephemeral kingdom of Jerusalem. Members of their court and aristocracy sojourned or settled permanently in many of these places. Trade, especially the ports of Barcelona, Palma, Valencia, and Málaga, but historically Almería and Cartagena as well, connected Iberian populations and markets with all points of the Mediterranean.

There is a lot about medieval Iberian culture that fits with this approach: the coexistence of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, of Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, and Ibero-Romance vernaculars, of the routes of material culture, human migration, and ideas for which the Iberian ports were important sites, and for the various migrations and imperialisms (Phoenician, Celtic, Roman, Jewish, Carthaginian, Visigothic, Islamic, Andalusi, Sephardic, Castilian) that shaped medieval Iberian society and that Iberian kingdoms sought to shape (Africa, eastern Mediterranean). For this reason, Akbari has called Iberia "a Mediterranean in microcosm, a polity and a history unimaginable without the broader backdrop of Mediterranean history" ("Persistence" 10).

Recent work by scholars across a number of disciplines responds to this approach to Iberia in the Mediterranean context. Many such studies focus on the Crown of Aragon, whose historical footprint in the Mediterranean is vast and better documented in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona than those of Granada, Castile, or the other medieval kingdoms of the Peninsula.[9]

Literary scholars have only recently begun to take up the challenge of theorizing a Mediterranean literature of Iberia. A number of those brought together in the pioneering 2015 volume edited by Michelle M. Hamilton and Núria Silleras-Fernández, *In and of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies* are explicit in addressing Iberian literature as both *in* and *of* the Mediterranean region; others work independently on topics such as the representation of Byzantium by medieval Iberian travellers (Bravo García), the Holy Land in the work of Catalan troubadours (Paterson), and descriptions of eastern cities by Iberian travellers (Rodilla León, "Laudibus Urbium"). By and large, as Akbari points out, scholars of Iberian literature "have not responded coherently, however, to the fundamental provocation of Mediterranean Studies to work beyond the category of the modern nation, to see local microhistories and the macrohistory of the sea in indissoluble and essential continuity" (Akbari, "Persistence" 10).

This broader Mediterranean context provides a more capacious context for Iberian crusade fiction, and especially for its relationship with the geopolitical historical processes of the region. Crusade is part of a larger and longer story of migration, trade, and conquest linking the Iberian Peninsula to broader Mediterranean, and the crusader imaginary (on which see below, note 10) draws on these historical connections, reaching back to biblical, Roman, Christian, Jewish, and Islamic storyworlds, or other literary representations of the Mediterranean world. It produced a literary culture that is still poorly understood outside of the context of French national literature (Akbari, "Persistence" 6).

With this book then, I am hoping to continue the work of thinking about the literatures of Iberia in the Mediterranean context. As Michelle Hamilton and Núria Silleras-Fernández state in the introduction to *In and of the Mediterranean*, "Spain is indeed part of Europe, but it is also part of the Mediterranean and seeing it as such provides us with an opportunity to appreciate the Peninsula's connections, not only with Africa, but also with the Middle East" (xii), and we may include the eastern crusades as an important (but not the only) part of this engagement with the Levant. The idea of crusade, as a French idea that gave rise to Iberian, north African, and Levantine campaigns, was very much a Mediterranean phenomenon. This study aims to explore the ways in which Iberian authors imagined their role in the culture of crusade, both as participants in the realities of crusades both Iberian and in the Levant as well as Iberian interpreters of narrative traditions of the crusading world from north of the Pyrenees.

In the rest of this introduction, I will provide an overview of the crusade culture of Iberia, and how the idea of crusade was reflected and constructed by preachers of crusade, papal bulls, chronicles, and poetry. The chapters that follow discuss some case studies of texts written from the twelfth to the fifteenth century in a variety of Iberian languages: Arabic, Castilian, Catalan, and Valencian.

Chapter 1 is a study of the only known Arabic chivalric romance from the Iberian Peninsula, *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* (ca. 1234). In this text, the author adapts the conventions of the French chivalric romance to the Arabic literary imagination, and projects the literary ideologies of holy war found in French *chansons de geste* and romances onto an Islamic landscape in which the hero battles against pagan idolaters, converting them to Islam. *Ziyad* draws on literary traditions from the Arab world and Latin Christendom to address the problem of dynasty building and holy war against the infidel in a fictional world that combines elements of French romance and Arab popular epic.

In chapter 2, I show how the author of the *Book of the Knight Zifar* (*Libro del cavallero Zifar*) (ca. 1300), working from both Eastern (Arabic, etc.) and French models of knightly and saintly adventure, imagines a Christian East in ways that speak directly to the contemporary politics of Iberian conquest of al-Andalus and the appropriation of the Andalusi intellectual tradition. *Zifar* takes place in a semi-fictionalized East that recalls both Christian hagiography and Arab geography, and draws on Eastern wisdom literature while performing Arab learning in a gesture of Castilian proto-colonialism.

Chapter 3 is a study of Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna* (late thirteenth century), the story of a Christian friar whose path to spiritual perfection takes the shape of a knightly romance. Just as the knight errant goes from one military challenge to the next, all the while gaining in power and prestige, the hero of *Blaquerna* ascends the spiritual ladder from monk to papacy, all the while pursuing his goal of converting the infidel. Llull's canvas is the Mediterranean, and his novel is a fictional workshop for the author's ideas of mass conversion of Muslims and Jews that distinguishes the Iberian conquest of al-Andalus from the crusades to the Holy Land.

Chapter 4 addresses the blurred boundaries between fiction and historical narrative in a study of *The Chronicle of Flores and Blancaflor* (*Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*), a romance of conversion in which the Muslim king of Almería (Spain) marries a Christian woman (whose mother is French) and converts his entire kingdom to Christianity. The text performs the twin functions of providing an alternate history in which al-Andalus is conquered by conversion rather than by military force, at the same time creating an Andalusi Christian ancestry for Charlemagne. The story of Flores and Blancaflor is very much both in and of the Mediterranean, as the action ranges from France to Iberia to the Levant and back again, and draws on the Byzantine novel for inspiration.

The fifth and final chapter deals with the novel *Tirant the White Knight* (*Tirant lo Blanch*) (1490), in which the author melds the world of the Arthurian romance with the history of Aragonese expansion in the eastern Mediterranean. I argue that *Tirant* projects contemporary anxieties over the loss of Aragonese territories to Ottoman expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, and imagines a fictional Christian "Reconquest" of the former Byzantine capital at a time when Latin Christendom feared Ottoman incursion into the West.

Taken together, these case studies show us how the literature of the times, through the power of fiction, reinforced and promoted the

values of a society whose political identity in the Mediterranean region depended on military expansion, holy war, and the conversion and assimilation of religious minorities both at home and abroad.

The crusades transformed European history and inaugurated a complex history of engagement between western Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East whose legacy we still live today. Thousands of Latin Christians took the cross and spent years, sometimes entire lifetimes, establishing colonies in the eastern Mediterranean in the name of religious conquest. Narratives of crusade powerfully shaped European thinking about the East and continue to influence the representation of interaction between religious groups and states in the region.

Imaginative fiction reflected and fuelled the desire to conquer and convert the Muslim other. French and English authors wrote itineraries of the Holy Land, chronicles of the crusades, and fanciful accounts of Christian knights who championed the Latin church in the East. In the Iberian Peninsula, this fiction reflected a desire to recuperate the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslim kings who had held large parts of the land since the eighth century. These texts described and reacted to a reality quite different from that of their French counterparts. While for French knights, the crusades were a far-away adventure in the exotic East, Christian Iberian knights fighting on the border of Christian and Muslim Spain were waging war at home, against an enemy that was so culturally familiar it had become an essential part of their identity. In fact, Castile and Aragon were in a way the European testing ground for crusade: popes offered Western knights remission of their sins for fighting Iberian Muslims even before the First Crusade. These same popes discouraged Christian Iberian knights from fighting in the East, scolding them to instead fight the infidel at home.

These unique circumstances that shaped medieval Iberian history likewise shaped the fictional narratives of the Peninsula. The types of romances and tales of knightly conquest that French authors wrote about the conquests in the East took on a different meaning coming from authors working in the Iberian Peninsula, whose experience with holy war was often a domestic affair and (at least for the Christian authors) part of their cultural identity. This fictional world was an incubator for the culture of conquest that Spain exported to the Americas in the Age of Discovery. The exploits of fictional Christian knights were so real to the conquistadors that the very name "California" is taken directly from the pages of *The Adventures of the Very Brave Knight Esplandían* (*Las sergas de Esplandían*), published at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Putnam). This is the literary culture that Cervantes so famously parodied in *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

Here we will trace the development of an Iberian culture of crusade, both in terms of papal crusades authorized for Iberian campaigns against Muslim forces as well as the development of ideas and images of crusade in medieval Iberian literature. This introduction will set the stage for our subsequent chapters that focus on fictional narratives by Iberian authors. In this section, I will first give an overview of the crusading movement in Latin Christendom before focusing on the Iberian context. Then I will discuss the reflection of the Iberian crusade imaginary in literature.[10] This will give the reader a sense of how Iberian Christians experienced crusade and how they gave voice to this experience in fiction.

Crusading is a spiritually inspired movement that transformed the shape of the known world during the late Middle Ages. Its aspirations were nothing short of cosmic. On the one hand, it was another series of massive military campaigns by which one group sought to deprive another of resources. But there was something different about the spiritual mission of crusade that set it apart from other campaigns fought in medieval Europe and the Mediterranean. Its origins in pilgrimage and original focus on securing the Christian holy sites gave it a sacred mission that went further than a simple military action carried out in the name of one god or another: its primary stated motivation was spiritual, not material. Though some crusaders (and certainly some of the war profiteers who sold them goods and services) enriched themselves, they were the exception rather than the norm. Crusading was ultimately not about money; it was a spiritual drama in which a mere human could take part, bearing arms.[11]

For this reason, I believe the themes associated with crusade acquired a special relationship with fictional representation, one in which the spiritual foundation of crusading unlocked writers' access to the mythic groundwater of medieval narrative practice. As in other forms of religious literature such as scripture, hagiography, and miracle tales, fictions of crusade, conquest, and conversion were in a sense religious literature, in that they gave shape to their authors' desire to serve God, and to see divine will done on earth. Crusade as an institution is an example of what can happen when we link military action to spiritual conviction. Crusade fiction shows us what happens when we dream about what this linkage can achieve in an idealized world shaped by our imagination.

As we will see in the pages that follow, crusade ideology and action, and the fictions to which it responds, take on a decidedly different shape in Iberia than north of the Pyrenees. This is so for the simple reason that Iberian crusaders (and this term is problematic) did not fight

to secure the holy sites in Jerusalem and its environs (and the various way stations between Western Latin Christendom and the Levant) but rather those in their own home territory. This simple reason draws complicated realities in its wake, and this book is dedicated to exploring these realities and their projections onto narrative fictions.

The crusade ideal is one of conquering and holding holy places. It was upheld by institutions through a variety of discourses and genres (homily, theology, hagiography, chronicle, chivalric fiction). Like all ideologies, it was born of and served other political and economic projects. The Western desire to take and hold the holy sites of Christianity in the Levant went hand in glove with economic and social pressures in Western Christendom, especially France, England, and Germany. For the kings who supported it, crusade was a way to ingratiate one's self with the church, gain popular support, and leave behind an exalted legacy, or even achieve sainthood, as was the case with Louis IX of France and eventually Ferdinand III (canonized in the late seventeenth century) of Castile-Leon. New traditions of militarized sainthood of which the most important examples were the cults of Saints James and Isidore lent historical and traditional support to the emergent cults of crusader kings such as Louis and Ferdinand.

On the Peninsula, there is no holy place per se to be recovered, no Jerusalem. In order for military conflict against Muslim rulers to qualify as holy war (and therefore just war), the territories of al-Andalus would have to be sacralized in some way, with Toledo as a new Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela as a new Rome.[12] During the reign of Alfonso III of Asturias (r. 866–910), the staged "discoveries" of the sepulchre of St James in Galicia, along with the Holy Ark of Oviedo containing a major collection of relics of Jesus Christ helped to establish the Iberian Peninsula as sacred territory. As we will discuss below, the doctrine of *iter per Hispaniam*, or the Iberian route to Jerusalem, linked the Peninsula to Eastern crusade. The sacred economy of relics supported the ideology of crusade and created a new extraction economy by which Western knights removed relics from the East to strengthen the Latin church. The Western Pilgrimage to Santiago, established in part due to the decreased accessibility of Jerusalem once the Levant passed from Byzantine to Muslim control, became the most important pilgrimage route in the west after Rome, and a far more secure undertaking than making the hazardous trip to Muslim Palestine.[13] Eastern relics, such as the cache "discovered" in Oviedo, and the very body of St James himself, provided the spiritual economic currency that made this western movement possible.[14] In this sense, crusade was not only about securing the holy sites of the East, but just as much became about enriching

the west with the relics "recuperated" from Byzantine schismatics or, in the Levant, safeguarding them from the reach of Islam.[15]

**Crusade in Iberia: An Overview**

This sacralization of the land legitimates the doctrine of holy war against al-Andalus, and the Iberian Peninsula becomes, by analogy, a new holy land. That is, Iberia did not become a new holy land because of the importance of the pilgrimage route to Santiago, and even if this were so there would have been no such justification possible for the conquest of the south of the Peninsula, once the northern territories, through which the road of St James passed, were secured. The sacralization of Iberia was the product of the extension of crusade ideology and papal bulls of crusade to include military conflict in Iberia (and later north Africa).[16]

This culture of domestic crusade shaped ecclesiastic and royal discourses and in turn inspired courtly and other writers to map the Iberian crusade imaginary onto original works of fiction. Together with royal and church chroniclers, medieval Iberian writers shaped the way Christian Iberians understood their place in the world. This self-image in turn shaped political and ecclesiastic institutions and policy, and would eventually give rise to the creation of the Spanish Inquisition and the grand purification campaign of the Catholic Monarchs, their crucible of empire.

The dominant ideologies and narratives that shaped the Iberian crusade imaginary came from the north, from countries that were geographically and culturally distant from Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. While technically the doctrine of crusade actually obtained first in the Iberian conflicts with Islam and only later to the French project in the East, the culture of eastern crusade was essentially French. French nobles, and later the king himself, organized the crusades, and much of the religious leadership of the crusades was likewise French.[17]

The institutions, practices, and representations developed by the French leadership of the crusades took on different forms in the Iberian Peninsula, where the frontier with Islam created historical conditions unique to Western Christendom (with the possible exception of Hungary). Ideology of crusade, preached throughout Western Christendom, took root in the Iberian Peninsula in the service of the local struggle with al-Andalus, a political struggle sometimes clothed in religious discourse, but in reality little different from the political conflicts between Christian kingdoms that obtained in parts of Western Christendom where Islam had not arrived.[18]

Papal bulls of crusade fuelled this discourse, linking military service to remission of sins and adding institutional prestige to the economic and social benefits of (successful) military campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula against Muslim rulers. Popes promulgated the first bulls of crusade for campaigns against al-Andalus. This intervention coincided perfectly with the institutional invasion of Cluny, who brought the Roman rite, and stacked the Spanish church with high-level officials from France, who transformed Spanish ecclesiastic and religious culture at a formative time in Christian Iberian history.[19]

Despite the very clear crusading directives coming from Rome over the years, for the most part the royal and seigneurial chronicles are low-key in their anti-Muslim or crusading discourse. They tend to link crusading discourse with royal/noble power. Their authors were concerned with legitimizing the political power of the houses for whom they wrote. However, the more fictional or novelized the text, the more fanciful and intense the representations of crusading themes and the discourse in which they were couched. This is probably because the French models, written during the first flush of fiery crusade discourse, were less familiar with the culture they sought to dominate, and so were freer to fantasize and present more extreme versions of the conflict. Their Iberian imitators were even freer, as they were at a greater historical distance and a greater ideological remove from the French authors whose texts they adapted. Their heroes were further fictionalized, their settings even more removed from history, even when they were set in "Spain," as they sometimes were. This intimacy did not breed contempt, but rather a measure of mutual respect, and above all, less extreme rhetoric, at least until the epoch of the Catholic Monarchs. Like the Roman rite, like the bulls of crusade that stoked the crusade imaginary with tax breaks and depositor's insurance, the business of crusade was an import that Iberian authors deployed through their own experiential and interpretive lenses.

## The Role of Conversion

Spanish imperial expansion both on the Peninsula, in the Mediterranean, and eventually in the New World rested upon a political and theological base predicated on the recuperation of holy sites for Western Christianity and on the Christian obligation to save the unconverted. By this logic, Muslim polities on Iberian (and African) soil threatened the shrine of St James in Santiago de Compostela and the relics in Seville and Toledo and were as such fair game for holy war. Schismatic Byzantines and pagan Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean likewise

were targets. This crusading logic eventually extended to the indigenous populations of the New World, who did not threaten Christian holy sites but who required conversion for the good of their own souls, and whose leaders, hostile to the project of conversion, were likewise hostile to Christianity and therefore legitimate targets for holy war (Benito Rodríguez). However, the military conquest of al-Andalus was only one part of Christian expansion, which included, to varying extents, the conversion of the Jews and Muslims living in lands conquered by Christian Iberian kings.

While conversion of Muslims was never a significant part of the crusading project in the East, relatively early on in the Iberian campaigns Rome became interested in missionizing newly subject Iberian Muslims. In 1074 Pope Gregory VII and the abbot of Cluny sent a missionary friar to preach in Christian Iberia. Some fifteen years later, Pope Urban II advocated for the conversion of Iberian Muslims newly subjected to Christian rule.[20] In the 1170s Cardinal Alberto Morra (the future Pope Gregory VIII) requested that the Order of Santiago emend its rule to include missionary work as part of their activities, thus emphasizing the clerical function of the crusading order (Kedar, *Crusade* 45–8, 60).

We usually understand the verb "to convert" as intransitive, as a something that one does for or to one's own self. In the context of crusade I think it is more accurate to think of it as a transitive verb, as something done to another. When the political and economic conditions of the unconverted are far inferior to those of the converted, it is difficult to maintain that conversion is a choice made freely or a choice made exclusively for spiritual reasons. When one is subjected to constant pressure and harassment as a member of a minority religion, conversion is an instrument of control and dominance rather than a spiritual choice.

Christian Iberia was long preoccupied with the conversion of its Jews and Muslims. Even the policies most favourable (or least prejudicial) toward Jews and Muslims allowed for and encouraged their proselytization.[21] In the later Middle Ages it was common for Christian kings to enforce mandatory attendance of Jews and/or Muslims to proselytic sermons. Other policies supported the proselytic activities of preaching friars in Christian kingdoms and abroad. Long before Columbus set sail, Iberia, partly owing to its multiconfessional population, was a laboratory of militant proselytism. It is no accident that one of the most renowned saints of the late Middle Ages in Iberia was St Vincent Ferrer, a brilliant firebrand Dominican friar who is credited with the conversion of thousands of Jews and Muslims and who was indirectly responsible for a series of violent episodes in which his preaching whipped

the crowd into an antisemitic frenzy. His motto: "baptism or death" (Daileader 107).

From the twelfth to fifteenth centuries a number of clerics formulated theories, practical manuals, and personal narratives of conversion, all with the ultimate end of bringing together all Iberians (and African residents of greater Iberia) under the cross. A small industry of Islamic and Judaic studies emerged, and Catholic priests laboured to learn Arabic and Hebrew, and develop what understanding they could manage of Islam and Judaism, in order to convert Muslims and Jews (Chazan, *Daggers* and *Barcelona*; Hames; Tolan, *Saracens* 171–274; Daileader 102–36). Indeed, one of the reasons that Spain led Europe in Hebrew and Arabic studies was to train its clerics to speak and read the languages of potential converts, who in theory would be more inclined to listen to sermons (albeit at swordpoint) that referred to their own holy books and traditions, even disparagingly so.

Neither were the proselytic ambitions of Iberian preaching friars limited to the Peninsula itself. The culture of conversion that served Castilian and Aragonese expansion on the Peninsula by preaching to Jews and Muslims who lived in those lands conquered from al-Andalus developed ambitions beyond the Peninsula. Once the balance of power on the Peninsula had tipped decisively in favour of the Christian kindgoms, Castilian and Aragonese monarchs set their sights farther abroad, to Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. While these new territories promised greater political, military, and commercial reach for Christian Iberian kings, the Muslims and Jews who populated them were all potential new Christians. King Alfonso X of Castile-Leon (r. 1252–84) launched a series of sorties to the north African coast in the late thirteenth century. Jaume II of Aragon (r. 1291–1327) likewise had designs on north Africa, and in 1291 negotiated a treaty with Alfonso X to equitably divide the north African coast between the two Christian kingdoms.[22]

## The Ideology and Discourse of Crusade

The eleventh century witnessed a series of reforms in the religious life of Western Latinity (Logan 105–30). This movement began with the religious orders, who were exhorted to take up stricter interpretations and practice of the Rule of St Benedict, and also by the establishment of hundreds of new churches and monasteries throughout the empire. The French monastery of Cluny spearheaded the movement and provided it with leadership and a steady supply of monks to populate the new Cluniac communities that sprouted up across the empire, seemingly

overnight (at least in medieval terms). Pope Gregory VII (1072–82) was tireless in his efforts to reform the church during this period, and invited to the papal court the talented and energetic Cluniac monk Odo of Lagery, who would later become Pope Urban II in 1088 (Claster 27–33). Urban unveiled his campaign to preach what would become known as the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095), where he first communicated a simple idea that would change the course of history: fighting for the church can earn you remission of sins.[23] Innocent III would later expand this call to arms to include not just knights and clergy, but all Christians regardless of station.[24]

William Purkis stresses that the "individual religious experience" is key in understanding the reality of broader religious reform outside the cloister (*Crusading* 1). His approach is especially important for the study of fiction, produced largely outside the cloister and at a remove (in many cases) from religious life. D.A. Trotter points out in his study of crusade literature that many of the authors of crusade narratives were either themselves crusaders or close relations of those who took the cross (111).

Purkis argues that Templars were far more influenced by eleventh-century religious reformers, principally by Bernard of Clairvaux, than is commonly reflected in modern scholarship. In particular, crusader ideology, together with the discourse of pilgrimage to Jerusalem from which it grew, is really more about Bernard's thought on *imitatio Christi* than about just war (*Crusading* 1–4). At the end of the eleventh century, the perception that Benedictine monasticism had become corrupt spurred church reformers to expand the definition of the life religious to include different forms of practice, including crusading. One theological innovation that came from this atmosphere was the idea that certain types of violence could bring salvation to the faithful. This simple idea signalled the transfer of pilgrimage rhetoric to the enterprise of crusade, attracting both lay and religious to the cause of holy war (Purkis, *Crusading* 11–21). Pope Urban II, in his now famous speech to the Council of Clermont, is credited with the distillation of this rhetoric into the emblematic badge of the cross worn by crusaders and pilgrims alike. According to Robert of Rheims, Urban encouraged whomever wished to go on crusade to "display the sign of the cross of the Lord on his front or on his chest. When, truly, he wishes to return from there having fulfilled his vow, let him place the cross between his shoulders."[25] The faithful eagerly obeyed, and eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade provide ample testimony to the various ways in which pilgrims and crusaders put Urban's symbol, and the associated ritual, into practice. Those crusaders regarded as especially pious by

chroniclers or by their peers often displayed stigmata in the form of the cross, sometimes located in the same place on the body where the badge was worn.[26]

Churchmen and crusaders likewise transferred other rhetorical and visual features of *imitatio Christi* onto their understanding of and accounts of the crusading experience. Ecclesiastical writers focused on the material sacrifices crusaders made in preparation for expedition, comparing it to that required by Jesus of his followers.[27] In some cases the crusades were framed as a *via apostolica*, imagining the crusaders as followers of Christ who left everything behind to back his spiritual mission. Other tropes drawn from traditional descriptions of the primitive church made their way into crusading discourse. Writers often described the crusaders' unity of purpose, comparing it to that of the Apostles acting *unanimiter* (with one will).[28] By extension, Pope Urban II leveraged this idea to demonstrate support for those crusaders not willing to take full vows, pointing out in an influential letter that crusading was even more similar to the practice of the earliest Christians than that of fully professed members of monastic orders.[29]

The liberation of Jerusalem in the First Crusade (1099) brought about a number of significant effects. The first of these was a marked increase in pilgrimage, which was often taken under the rubric of the cross as Urban II had established. The crusaders, then, had a profound influence on the culture of pilgrimage, not only in securing the pilgrimage sites and making the journey far easier than it had been when Jerusalem was in Muslim hands, but also in establishing a visual and ideological framework for the act of pilgrimage. The liberation of Jerusalem and the activity of the crusaders in the East also created an active market for relics, both by affording many more Western Latins direct contact with relics in the Holy Land and by creating a demand for souvenir relics for churches back in the West. The ideology of the sanctification of the Holy Land itself, which essentially rendered the Holy Land a relic in its own right, was therefore applied to Western Latin Christendom through the medium of relics, as the holiness of the Holy Land was mapped onto or overlaid upon the Latin West.

What advantage did increased pilgrimage serve for the Christian West? In both the First and Second Crusades, including the intermediary expeditions between them, the *imitatio Christi* fuelling the mission extends to martyrdom for those who die on crusade (Purkis, *Crusading* 81). In Iberia we see Don Juan Manuel echo this idea in the mid-fourteenth century.[30]

However, when Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) preaches the Second Crusade, he breaks with this trend. In his letters, he does not

speak of the crusade as a pilgrimage or an *imitatio Christi* as pointedly as his predecessors who preached the First and intermediary expeditions of 1095–1114. For Bernard, crusaders were coming to the aid of a besieged Jerusalem, and by association with the relics of Christ housed both there and in Byzantium, to the aid of Christ himself. He tempered this image by framing the enterprise as an opportunity to earn God's mercy, lest the would-be crusader imagine himself as coming to the aid of an all-powerful God, an idea that flirted with blasphemy.[31]

As opposed to Urban's emphasis on the cross as symbol of *signum mortificationis*, for Bernard the cross was "symbolic of the crusade indulgence, the unique gift that God was offering to those who responded to the perilous situation he had contrived to bring about in the East" (Purkis, *Crusading* 92). This is a further step in the development of the political economy of crusade, by which military service, modelled even as it was on pilgrimage, is exchanged for institutional, not simply personal, spiritual credit. This commodification of crusade activity was achieved by de-coupling it from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem undertaken in the spiritu of *imitatio Christi*. The need to re-allocate crusading fighters to other theatres (Iberia, the Baltics) led Pope Eugenius III to assure those knights taking up arms in Iberia and the Baltics that they would enjoy the same spiritual benefits as those who took up the cross to Jerusalem. Bernard followed suit, preaching holy war against the enemies of Christendom, no matter where in the world they should happen to appear.[32]

Bernard's crusading rhetoric de-emphasized (in most aspects) the idea of crusade as *imitatio Christi* so prevalent in Urban's rhetoric in preaching the First Crusade. Rather, Bernard reserved this concept for fully professed religious who had committed their entire lives to the church, while he saw the crusaders' commitment as merely temporary (Purkis, *Crusading* 117). Bernard did, however, make one important contribution to the theology of crusade: the idea that crusaders who died in battle were Christian martyrs who died a *mors sacra*.[33]

**Urban Preaching the First Crusade**

While it is a fact that the First Crusade was a response to the Byzantine call for aid against the Seljuk Turks, received in the form of a letter in 1095, other factors were at least as important in Urban's approach to preaching the First Crusade.[34] Since the pacification of Hungary and to a lesser extent the Balkans, Latin pilgrimage to Jerusalem was on the rise. Christian reformers in the eleventh century were "obsessed" by Jerusalem, and images of the Holy City as the site of man's redemption

and eventual doomsday venue reinforced its importance for every Christian and the urgency for Latins to rush to its defence (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 21). Already by 1095 the discourse of just war against Islam was old hat for Urban, who had described numerous campaigns in Spain, Italy, and the Balkans in these terms. The concept of holy war against Islam was hardly bespoke for the eastern campaign and had a long history of development in Christian thought.[35] Urban had been quite clear in framing Christian Iberia's struggle with Andalusi and Almoravid Muslim states in terms of the defence of Christianity, and the current mania for pilgrimage made it easy to expand this concept eastward. In fact, Urban was already more sophisticated in his theological and rhetorical approach of the concept of holy war than his predecessors, benefitting from the theoretical studies of his fellow reformers on the subject. He combined this intellectual approach with aggressive infrastructure building in newly conquered al-Andalus, establishing bishoprics and privileges in a concerted effort to colonize and stabilize the Iberian lands newly annexed to Christendom.[36]

It is important, however, to remember that the sources dating from after the liberation of Jerusalem in 1099 are far more strident and triumphalist than were Urban's actual words in 1095–6 when he travelled through France preaching the First Crusade. Jonathan Riley-Smith points out that historians' reliance on these after-the-fact accounts has distorted somewhat our understanding of Urban's preaching, but for a student of fictionality these distortions are simply grist for the mill.

Urban's greatest innovation, aside from the badge of the cross, was to extend church protection to the property and families of the crusaders and simultaneously to extend the control of the church over the crusaders themselves. This safeguarded the estates of those who went east, and combined with the full remission of sins guaranteed for undertaking the journey, served as a powerful motivator for knights to literally drop everything and embark on a very risky, unpleasant journey for the sake of a religious ideal. In particular, the fact that crusaders were treated as pilgrims and made to take a vow – which technically made them temporary ecclesiastics – brought them under the authority of the church, with the result that the authority of the papacy now extended directly not only to the souls, but also to the persons and estates of all those who took the cross (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 23). These conditions had the secondary effect of promoting stability and peace in the home territories of those who went to Jerusalem. Many knights, as part of their penance, dropped conflictive claims on lands and privileges that had long promoted local violence in return for cash to fund their journey eastward. This served the dual function of fundraising

and increasing the penitential function of crusade to promote peace at home (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 37).

For the crusaders, at least according to the chronicles of the First Crusade, an air of holiness and epic mode infused the project of the First Crusade. The land itself, after all, was holy both by canon law as having once been ruled by Byzantine Christian kings, but more importantly on the affective plane by virtue of Christ's presence and the presence of his relics that remained in the Holy Land. A series of visitations, particularly of saints associated with the East and miraculous discoveries of relics punctuated the Latins' stay in the Holy Land, reinforcing their claims that their entire enterprise was blessed (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 105). In this atmosphere, they began to experience the mundane and the coincidental as miraculous. To them, "the enterprise was as miraculous as any Old Testament epic" (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 99). This sense of the biblical proportions of their role in history was, in the retelling, conflated with epic accounts of the deeds of Charlemagne, a direct ancestor of a number among the crusade leadership. The biographer of Tancred wrote that Baldwin, a descendent of Charlemagne, sat on the very throne of David as king of Jerusalem, and in describing the battle of Dorylaeum, proclaimed that "Roland and Oliver, the heroes of the song of Roland, were reborn."[37]

The exceptional nature of the project in its historical, political, and spiritual dimensions produced an unprecedented outpouring of historical writing. The first wave of narratives was written by eyewitnesses, many of them knights, who wrote shortly after the liberation of Jerusalem. Then a second wave of monastic writers took it in hand to produce more learned, theologically inclined versions of events, basing themselves on the earlier eyewitness reports but bringing the version of record more in line with monastic spirituality, theology, and proper Latin.[38] These historians refined the popular theology of crusade forged by the lay and religious participants in the expedition, grounding the miraculous and the spiritual in authorities and in established doctrinal traditions. They developed the eyewitness's sense of participating in providential history with authoritative hermeneutics and intertextuality, equating with full documentation the exploits of the crusaders with that of the invading armies of the Hebrews in biblical times. Guibert of Nogent placed the crusade above even "the divinely authorized wars of the Israelites described in the Old Testament" (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 141). Robert of Flanders placed the Mosaic victory hymn sung by the Israelites after the destruction of the Egyptian armies in the Red Sea into the mouths of the victorious crusaders after the Battle of Dorylaeum.[39]

This narrative consciousness involved the actions of nobles and royals, who were very much preoccupied with the legacy they would leave. Public orations, heraldry, and writings all contributed to this effort. This tendency is hilariously parodied in Monty Python's *Holy Grail*, in which Sir Robin is accompanied by a bard who narrates his (cowardly) exploits in real time. However, it is one of the engines of the crusade imaginary – linked, to some extent, to that of churchmen and royal historians.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the culture of Latin Christendom was deeply involved with the eastern crusades. The success of the First Crusade was never matched, leaving the Latins in a perpetual state of hope and frustration. The cycles of epic poems (*gestes*) celebrating the eastern campaigns were propaganda meant to generate support for subsequent campaigns. This corpus, like the *matières* of Rome, France, and Britain so rubricated by literary scholars, could stand alone as a fourth *matière d'Outremer*.[40]

The fusion of mythological and historical material in accounts of the First Crusade lent them a cosmic tone. English historians such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bede, and Nenio pioneered this fusion of the historical and the mythical. All of these writers synthesized local mythology with biblical, classical, and historical material, as José Manuel Querol Sanz writes, "elevating them to the category of *Historia*."[41]

Historical texts that blend myth, folklore, and historical events are showing us a process of change from one type of discourse to another: from mythic to logical, from oral to literary; they provide a substrate to history that, again in the words of Querol Sanz, "may appear to distort *events* but enriches our understanding of the world from which we spring."[42] Once mythic material has passed through a process of Christianization, he adds, it can enter into historical consciousness (*Cruzadas y literatura* 21–2). This was particularly true in the examples of mythic material inserted into crusade chronicles.

## The Culture of Crusade in Iberia

How did conditions differ on the Iberian Peninsula and what is distinctive about Iberian discourses of crusade? The most obvious difference is that Christian Iberian kingdoms shared a border with Islam and as such might be considered sites of holy war. However, the more important difference for local discourses of crusade was that Christian Iberian kingdoms were home to significant populations of Muslims and Jews. The struggle to convert Iberia's Muslims and Jews was what distinguished local discourses of crusade from those elsewhere in Latin Christendom.[43]

Due to the fact that the Iberian Peninsula was and continued to be part of the Islamic world, Iberian Christianity was very much steeped in crusade tradition. The patron saint of Spain, James, is nicknamed *Santiago Matamoros* (St James the Moor-killer). In Iberia, the whole idea of being a Christian was predicated on struggle with Islam, far more so than elsewhere in Western Latinity.[44] Christian Iberian kings took the cross in public ceremonies that no doubt were culturally influential. Joseph O'Callaghan writes that a series of kings took the cross before embarking on campaigns: they include Alfonso IX (1220) Ferdinand III (1224), Jaume I before his Majorcan campaign, Infante Alfonso de Molina, brother of Ferdinand III (1275 and 1267), and Alfonso X before embarking on his African campaign (1254) (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 122).

Symbols and heraldry were also important indicators of crusade culture and of the blending of spiritual and martial efforts. Chroniclers of the times such as Gil de Zamora express the divine investment in crusade, describing apparitions of the Virgin Mary, Santiago, and Isidore on the battlefield.[45] Crusader kings such as Ferdinand III carried the cross into battle and incorporated crusading mottoes and war cries into their martial practice.[46] Crusaders enacted their intentions by a series of ritual preparations for battle, including prayer, confession, listening to sermons, adoring the cross, and other para-liturgical practices prescribed by theologians of crusade (Rodríguez García 171–2).

**Christian Conquest of al-Andalus and Crusade**

Though the term "Reconquista" is a product of nineteenth-century historiography, the idea it represents is attested in Christian sources as early as the ninth century. It is not until the late eleventh century, or well into the twelfth century, according to Richard Fletcher (*Catapult* 296), and at the dawn of the First Crusade, that sources explicitly associate it with holy war.[47] A number of social and political factors brought about this transformation, most of them emanations of foreign institutions. They included the presence of foreign military orders in Iberia, the need to protect the pilgrimage route to Santiago, the increasing influence of French religious orders such as Cluny and Cister, and the intermarriage of Iberian royals with their counterparts across the Pyrenees. Theologically, however, it was the papal imprimatur that made holy war possible in Iberia. First Pope Alexander II (1062–73) established the Christian campaigns in al-Andalus as crusades on a par with (although, it is worth pointing out, predating) those in the Levant, earning participants remission of sins and relief from penance. By 1089 Urban II declared Iberia a second front on the war against Islam, in

which military service earned one the same spiritual benefits as the war in Jerusalem (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 24–6, 31).[48]

By the second half of the thirteenth century, Muslim states were no longer a serious military threat, and the Muslim kings of Granada, Niebla, and Murcia had all accepted their status as tributary states of Castile-Leon, now the only Christian kingdom to maintain a frontier with Islam. However, north Africa was still a threat and an object of colonial speculation, and Castile's campaigns in coastal al-Andalus had more to do with protecting the Peninsula from African invasion than with the elimination of political Islam. These campaigns also conveniently served the additional purpose of providing Ferdinand III with a beachhead in north Africa from which to stage an eastern crusade along the "southern route" that had been used to justify military action against Islam in the Peninsula since at least the mid-twelfth century. Ferdinand proposed to "take up the cross" and achieve what Louis IX had failed to do in his ill-fated 1250 crusade to Egypt (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 6–7).

Ferdinand's son Alfonso X continued these designs on north Africa in a series of campaigns during his reign (1252–84) that were undercut by domestic conflict and Alfonso's aspirations to the Holy Roman Imperial throne (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 11). In fact, the ideology of reconquest that justified the Christian conquest of al-Andalus included, in some formulations, all of Africa as well. Joseph O'Callaghan writes that "in his last will [Alfonso X] emphasized that, in ancient time, God intended that all of Africa and all of Spain should belong to his Christian ancestors, but they lost it on account of their sins. His clear intention was to take possession once again."[49]

For Latin Christians from north of the Pyrenees whose ancestors had fought in the eastern crusades, after the fall of Acre in 1291, the Iberian frontier was the only crusade left connected to the eastern campaigns. This was a boon to Christian Iberian kings, in that there was no longer any competition for foreign crusaders. For the foreigners, this was no cynical spiritual justification of a local conflict but a "real" crusade, at least on paper. All throughout the fourteenth century we see foreign knights pledging their support to fight "the enemies of the Cross" in Iberia (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 154–6, 198–201). As had been the case since the mid-eleventh century, papal bulls provided a legal framework, along with spiritual (remission of sins) material (tithes, protection of property), and propagandistic (preaching) support for the campaigns. In some cases these benefits extended beyond the fighters and those who donated to the cause, to include bankers and traders who left off their (illicit) business deals with Muslims and joined the crusade effort (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 248–9).

If the church wanted every local war against a Muslim state to be a crusade, they would have to pay for it. Many bulls of crusade written for Christian Iberian kings directed the local church to pay the *tercia* (technically one third of the funds collected by churches) to cover maintenance costs. In other cases, the bull provided the *décima*, a tenth of total local church income to be diverted to the crusade effort (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 243–4). This sponsorship, along with the legal framework provided by the bulls, encouraged kings to use the discourse of crusade in conflicts that otherwise had the look of local political struggle, of business as usual.

**Military Orders**

The Iberian context of crusade and frontier war gave rise to institutions that responded specifically to this context, such as military and religious orders. We have already seen how the Iberian military orders differed in mission and constitution from the Templars and Hospitallers; this specificity also shaped new religious orders. By the thirteenth century there were Iberian religious orders, the Mercedarians and the Trinitarians dedicated to the ransoming and care of captive Christians (Rodríguez García 55). While these functions were once the province of the Templars and Hospitallers who had developed health care and redemptive practices in the East, as with their function as a fighting force in Iberia, their low numbers and decreasing international profile during the waning of the eastern crusades opened the door for local institutions to take over, just as the Order of Calatrava was born out of the Templars' abandonment of the fortress of that name.

The role of the military orders was quite different on the Peninsula than it was in the rest of Latin Christendom. In most countries, they administered their estates and sent funds to their leadership in the Levant; in Iberia (at first), they defended the home front of a war they were losing despite the help of foreign crusaders (Lomax, *Santiago* 2). Pious brotherhoods existed in the Peninsula before the founding of the military orders and were the template for their organization. They were responsible for the maintenance of churches, bridges, and urban fortifications. Some cities, like Toledo, had local militias that incorporated religious elements in their practice, which by the middle of the twelfth-century, under influence from foreign military orders, included a creeping sacralization of their military duties (Lomax, *Santiago* 4).

A final activity of the military orders, and one that might surprise given the crusading ethos they espoused, was diplomacy. The increasing prestige that the orders enjoyed over the course of the thirteenth

century made their masters important courtiers and valued advisors and diplomats of the king. Alfonso X, for example, sent the master of Calatrava to negotiate with Granada, just as Pope Honorius III had sent his predecessor to parlay with the Almohad caliph in 1219 (Rodríguez García 56–7).

Alfonso X struggled to bring the Iberian orders under royal control. He was able to do so in part because of the increasingly aristocratic profile of their leadership, but took a number of administrative measures to make it so, including moving their leadership closer to the frontier (and further from their ancestral lands), intervening directly in suits involving lands held by the orders that were granted by the crown, and other measures meant to bring the orders and their various activities under royal control. In addition, he limited their mobility, forbidding them from campaigning in the Holy Land, a measure similarly taken by the crown in Aragon and England. The international orders proved more difficult to control, since their members were not closely enmeshed in local networks of political power and their leadership was typically far away north of the Pyrenees (Rodríguez García 59).

The Hospitallers began to establish communities in the Iberian Peninsula in the first quarter of the twelfth century. By the mid-fourteenth century they had developed significant holdings and political influence in Catalonia, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Galicia, and were coming under increasing royal control (Barquero Goñí 14–19, 95–6). They waged war on the Peninsula against enemies both Christian and Muslim, cared for the sick and wounded, and provided material support for the crusades in the East, particularly to their cohorts in Rhodes (Barquero Goñí 155–76).

The order of Calatrava began as a replacement squad for a band of Templars who had abandoned their post in the fortress some sixty miles south of Toledo. Calatrava was an important stronghold, both strategically (it protected the royal city of Toledo) and symbolically (it protected the historic capital city of the Visigoths only recently reclaimed for the Christians from the Muslim ruler al-Mu'min). Alfonso VII had appointed a group of Templars to defend the fortress, but these soon realized their numbers were not sufficient to man the post effectively, and they decamped. Sensing an opportunity, Abbott Raymond of the Cistercian monastery of Santa María de Fitero in Navarre gathered together a group of knights and followers to defend the fortress. In the fashion of the crusading orders, he granted them remission of their sins for defending Calatrava against the Muslims. Eventually, this group adopted a modified form of the rule of Citeaux and became the Order of Calatrava, Iberia's first indigenous crusading order.[50] Calatrava

worked hard to establish official affiliation with the Cistercian order, mostly to maintain their tax-exempt status that Citeaux had negotiated with the Vatican (O'Callaghan, *Calatrava* 6: 71).

Citeaux's influence in the Peninsula, manifested in their interest in the Order of Calatrava, was not the only such example. Both individuals and institutions from north of the Pyrenees had long been attracted to the spiritual and material possibilities to be had along the southern frontier. While holy war may well have been successful in channelling military aggression eastward and southward, it did not eliminate competition for resources among Christian factions. As is often the case, such competition inspired ethnic tensions. The Mozarab elite of Toledo felt displaced by the foreign Cluniacs invited by Alfonso VI to reform the Spanish church. Resentment of French interference in local affairs continued, and in 1234 Ferdinand III complained to the pope that the French prior of Calatrava's ignorance of local custom had thrown the Order into "a turmoil" (O'Callaghan, *Calatrava* 6: 74).

One of the chief differences between Iberian and eastern crusade was that Iberian crusaders were not protecting a pilgrimage site. While St James was most certainly a powerful symbol of Iberian crusade, crusaders were not charged with recuperating his shrine from Islam; neither were there any significant shrines or Christian holy sites under Muslim control in al-Andalus (Conedera 33). The Iberian crusaders were not going to protect a site and a route to a site; they were going to fight Islamic political power in their own country.

French influence was more formative of Iberian crusade ideology than were local politics or religion (Conedera 33). The fact that Iberian knights responded so enthusiastically to Pope Urban II's call to crusade in the East demonstrates that they did not yet have any sense of an urgent crusading mission at home. It was Rome, in fact, that planted this idea in the Iberian imagination, by granting the same indulgences and remission of sins to Iberian knights who fought along the frontier with al-Andalus as to those who took up the cross in the East. The projection of papal priorities and French ideals onto the very different political and cultural landscape of Iberia is what gives us the so-called Iberian crusades, which were not crusades at all, in the sense that they were not wars waged to secure a pilgrimage site; neither could it be argued in any credible way that they were, like the crusades, a form of *imitatio Christi*. For a time, the conquest of Iberia and north Africa was framed as the pacification of a southern route to Jerusalem. This strategy became obsolete once the discourse of the Christian Iberian campaigns against al-Andalus began to adopt the discourse of crusade more consistently, around the time of the Second Crusade (Conedera 33).

In the meantime, that argument was likely a formality meant to justify the lucrative business of securing southern Mediterranean ports for strategic and trade purposes.

**Preaching and Indulgences**

Preaching the crusades was originally a recruiting effort but soon morphed into fundraising and proselytic campaigns. Proselytizing was a multifaceted effort, as the church in Iberia was dealing with a number of different populations both Christian and non-Christian. Preaching the crusade, while not unrelated to the task of conversion, tended to be done in sermons and letters, while the most important genre for the work of conversion was the disputation (Rodríguez García 118). Literary works of various genres reinforced the crusading message, including chronicles and epic poems of crusading feats which we will discuss below, such as the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, *Canción de la cruzada albigense*, *Poema de la conquista de Almería*, and the *Poema de Alfonso XI*, as well as crusading episodes in more general historiographical works (*Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla*) and narrative poems (*Poema de Fernán Gonález*) (Rodríguez García 119). To this we might add the several crusading exempla in Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (1335) and in the *Recull d'exemples ordenat per alfabet* (1450).[51]

Interestingly, there is no extant evidence of crusader preaching in Iberia in the thirteenth century. This is not to say that crusade was not promoted, as there is a wealth of other types of evidence that witness the crusade effort, including papal bulls, royal orders, and letters. There are also a number of fourteenth-century manuscripts of crusader sermons dealing with the East that may well have been recycled in the context of the Andalusi frontier (Rodríguez García 138).

Reuse of French propaganda material was common across a number of genres. We have already seen how Iberian preachers and churchmen made liberal use of Latin sermons, exempla, and other texts in promoting crusade in Iberia. Likewise, we see historical examples of crusade, or of other campaigns reimagined as crusades, such as the campaigns of Charlemagne in Spain in the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin* (Book IV of the *Codex Calixtinus*), that also circulated in Iberia. Charlemagne's activity in Iberia is also featured as an example of a crusading king in the 1266 *Liber de predicatione sancte Crucis* of Humbert of Romans (Rodríguez García 156–7).

While it is true that popes offered indulgences and remission of sins for those knights fighting Islam in Iberia in the late eleventh century, the key concepts of crusade discourse employed by Urban II, Bernard

of Clairvaux, and other churchmen preaching crusade in the same period are nearly absent in the Iberian documentation. The ideas of *peregrinatio, imitatio Christi, via apostolica,* and *mors sacra* scarcely appear in reference to the Iberian context at this time. The equivalencies drawn between fighting the Turks in Asia and fighting the "Saracens" in Iberia are few and may have rung hollow to French and Iberian knights, who were likely not convinced by papal assurances that their service in Iberia would earn them the same spiritual privileges as those who fought in the east (Purkis, *Crusading* 123–5; Falque Rey 271).

A letter sent from the patriarch of Jerusalem to first archbishop of Santiago de Compostela Diego Gelmírez (ca. 1069 – ca. 1140) in 1120 only threw this discrepancy into sharper relief. The patriarch begged Gelmírez to send Iberian knights to the aid of besieged Jerusalem: "we implore you with bended knees and with floods of tears to come to help us!" (Purkis, *Crusading* 130). This new urgency in the East and gathering unpopularity of the theology of Iberian crusade forced a new solution. The conquest of Zaragoza in 1120 by Alfonso I "The Battler" of Aragon (r. 1104–34) and the subsequent expansion into the Ebro valley was the setting from which it emerged and through which service on the Iberian frontier came to be described as a crusade per se. The concept that facilitated this change was associative rather than analogous. Instead of relying on the Iberian frontier as an analogue or equivalent of fighting in Jerusalem, the rhetoric described the Iberian frontier as *part of* fighting in Jerusalem, arguing that by defeating Islam in Iberian and north Africa, Christian knights were securing an alternative, less dangerous and less demanding route to Jerusalem itself: *iter per Hispaniam*. This solved the twin problems of diverting resources from the Iberian frontier to the liberation of Jerusalem, as well as the spurious claim that military service in Iberia was somehow equivalent to the pilgrimage-based crusading concept of literally following the footsteps of Jesus.

The cult of St James was the lynchpin of the symbolic program of crusade in Iberia, and the literature of this cult was key in promoting the image of St James as a holy warrior against Islam on the Peninsula. In this way, the same militarization of the Jerusalem pilgrimage that supported the crusades in the East applies to the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. The "way of St James" was since its inception meant to shore up Christian populations and stimulate the demographic and economic growth of areas controlled by Christian kings, but only in the twelfth century does James himself come to be represented as a knight in the service of God. Such representations are not unique to Iberia. In fact, chronicles of the First Crusade such as the *Gesta Francorum* (ca. 1100) represent other patron saints of French religious houses

as soldiers of Christ already at the beginning of the twelfth century (Purkis, "Rewriting" 149). However, the cult of St James, already well established by this time, took a decidedly militarizing turn with the popularity of the *Liber sancti Jacobi* (*LSJ*, also known as the *Codex Calixtinus*), a sort of manual for the veneration of St James and pilgrimage to his shrine in Compostela, likely authored by Diego Gelmírez (but attributed spuriously to Pope Callistus II).[52]

The collection of miracles attributed to St James in the *LSJ* is populated by a majority of knights and men-at-arms, and several of the miracles relate tales of military victory or liberation from captivity by Muslim enemies. James appears in these miracles dressed and armed as a knight, most notably in that of the liberation of Coimbra by Ferdinand of Castile in 1064, in which he appears to St Stephen in military kit, explaining: "I am appearing to you in this way so that you no longer doubt that I am able to fight for God as his champion, that I go before the Christians in the fight against the Saracens, and that I arise as the victor for them" (Purkis, *Crusading* 147; Whitehill and Prado 175). The same book also linked the militarization of the cult of St James as avatar for Iberian crusade to the quasi-historical precedent of Charlemagne's Iberian campaigns narrated by Pseudo-Turpin, the earliest and most complete copy of which is included in the *LSJ*.[53]

Pseudo-Turpin went to great lengths to link Charlemagne's Iberian campaigns to the First Crusade, and did so by employing the tropes and language of the historians and preachers of the First Crusade in his description of Charlemagne's campaigns against Iberian Muslims. He writes of Charlemagne's mission to free the "*terra*" of St James from "Moabite" oppression, terms very similar to those used by Urban II in preaching the First Cruade. He even shrewdly makes martyrs of Roland and his men who died at Roncesvalles, a scene familiar to Pseudo-Turpin's readers from the many narrative traditions of Roland's exploits then circulating in the region (Purkis, *Crusading* 155–7). In his version, Charlemagne sees the red-cross-shaped crusader stigmata appear on the armour of his men who are destined to die in Roncesvalles, and Pseudo-Turpin borrows language from the account of the First Crusade of Fulcher de Chartres to describe the battle between Charlemagne and the pagans (Purkis, *Crusading* 159–60). He even goes so far as to attribute the building of the road to Compostela to Charlemagne, explaining that the first Iberian station of prayer on the pilgrimage was the place where Charlemagne stopped and prayed where he had completed his new road to Galicia, and that modern pilgrims of the twelfth century would likewise stop at this place in imitation of Charlemagne (Shaver-Crandell et al. 2: 26–7; Purkis, *Crusading* 164).

During the period of the Second Crusade, preachers and chroniclers described Iberian campaigns against domestic, Muslim enemies in terms of crusade. However, at this point such campaigns no longer needed to be linked to the Jerusalem pilgrimage in order to be viable as penitential wars. The conquest of the Balearic Islands, fought by joint Pisan-Catalan forces, was essentially a trade war, fought to eliminate the pirate bases in the Balearics that were harassing Pisan trade routes in the western Mediterranean. William Purkis notes that accounts of the campaigns "loosely and inconsistently … [used] terminology that was related to, or inspired by, crusading" (*Crusading* 169). Nowhere, however, do these accounts attempt to link the conquest of the Balearics with the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, however, not even via the already-established *iter per Hispaniam* doctrine that made Iberian crusading *part of* the Jerusalem pilgrimage/crusade. By the mid-twelfth century Iberian penitential war was already robust enough to stand on its own legs without leaning on the Jerusalem pilgrimage for support (Purkis, *Crusading* 178).

Chroniclers of the siege of Lisbon, however, undertaken some thirty years later, do attempt to stress the spiritual equivalency of fighting in Iberia with fighting in Jerusalem. Preachers and chroniclers likewise described the siege of Lisbon in terms of crusade, probably as a way of justifying the campaign to crusaders from northern Europe who made the side trip to Lisbon en route to the Holy Land (Purkis, *Crusading* 171). In the same year, and on the Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula, preachers emphasized the great wealth to be gained in conquest of Almería, and the lavish equipment of the forces mustering before the expedition. This contrasts sharply with statements of Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux on poverty and humility as essential rules for crusaders (Purkis, *Crusading* 173–4).

**Crusade or Conversion?**

Thirteenth-century authors dealt with the question of which route to salvation was more important and what was to be the relationship between the two. The prevailing approach was that of Ramon Llull, who opined that crusade was the necessary preparation for the conversion of Muslims. This question was particularly pressing in the Iberian Peninsula, where large populations of Muslims were brought under Christian rule in the Christian conquests of al-Andalus (Rodríguez García 176; Goñí Gaztambide 249; Echevarría Arsuaga, *Fortress* 197–205; Tolan, *Saracens* 256–74). Actual royal policies favoured conversion by preaching, and specifically interdicted conversion by force or coercion.

In most cases Alfonso XI allowed his Muslim subjects to practise Islam and maintain their religious institutions, except in communities that were taken in a military campaign or that engaged in armed rebellion against the Crown (Rodríguez García 177–80).

The religious policy of the Castilian kings around the time of Alfonso was, according to José Rodríguez García, "basically defensive," geared to avoid apostasies in situations where Christians and Muslims mixed freely, in a society with large Muslim populations. The Vatican formulated the laws promulgated in the councils in order to regulate the situation in the crusader states, but Iberian kings sometimes applied them selectively and with little force. Even after the Mudéjar rebellion of 1264 moved Alfonso X to think more concretely about the conversion of his Muslim subjects, his position remained essentially defensive.[54]

Popes took a much more aggressive stance toward conversion of Muslims in Iberia and north Africa. In 1240, Gregory IX asked Pedro de Portugal, conqueror of Majorca, and all the Templars and Hospitallers who had participated in the island's conquest, to prevent Muslims from settling there. He had already asked the king of Menorca (while it was still under Muslim control) to allow the proselytization of the island's Muslims, and the year prior had directed all religious living in Muslim lands to dedicate themselves to the conversion of Muslims.[55]

Castilian sources on conversion from the time are defensive and relatively tolerant. The tendency was to penalize interference with the conversion of Muslims and Jews to Christianity, but nowhere do Christian kings authorize coercive proselytization. In fact, both Alfonso X and Jaume I reproduced terms specified in the 1086 surrender treaty of Toledo allowing Jewish and Muslim residents of conquered territories to retain their property if they converted to Christianity.[56] In contrast, the accounts of the crusades in the Baltics place conversion of the pagans at the centre of their program (Rodríguez García 194). Despite the fact that both Alfonso X and Jaume I postured in personal letters, poems, and other documents towards massive expulsions of their Muslim subjects in Mallorcia, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia (and particularly in papal correspondence), neither ever took this step in reality, though they did from time to time order smaller-scale displacements, such as those following the Mudéjar rebellion of 1264 (Rodríguez García 195).

In Iberia, as elsewhere, there is no clear dichotomy in the sources between those favouring crusade and those favouring conversion. Neither is there any significant rupture in the way crusade was preached in Iberia as compared to abroad. Alfonso X follows this trend, and for him (at least rhetorically) the two enterprises are complementary, the

idea being that it would be easier to convert Muslims and Jews once they had become subjects of Christian kings (Rodríguez García 196–7).

**Iberian Literature of Crusade**

As military conflict became increasingly framed in terms of holy war, Iberian authors (and those writing for Iberian audiences) worked to reinforce this idea, and found ways to link current Christian/Muslim conflicts both with those of the past as well as with the contemporary eastern crusades. The *LSJ* went a long way to link the pilgrimage to Santiago and crusade ideology. The section known as the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin (whose narrator purports to be Turpin, Charlemagne's companion and archbishop of Reims), relates a version of Charlemagne's campaigns in the Peninsula against the Umayyads in terms of a crusade, using the type of rhetoric common in twelfth-century sources. Saint James himself appears to Charlemagne in a dream, exhorting him to drive the Muslims from the Peninsula:

> I am very much surprised that you have not liberated my land from the Saracens, you who have conquered so many cities and lands! Therefore, I will have you know that just as the Lord made you the most powerful king in the Land, He has also chosen you from among all to prepare the way for me and liberate my land from the hands of the Muslims, for which you will obtain a crown of everlasting glory. The road of stars that you have seen in the sky means that from these lands to Galicia you must go with a great army to fight the perfidious pagan peoples, and to liberate my Camino and my land, and visit my Basilica and my tomb …
>
> In this way the Holy Apostle (James) appeared to Charlemagne three times. Then, having heard this, believing in the Saint's promise, and after having mustered a great army, Charlemagne entered into Spain to fight the Infidels.[57]

For the author of the *LSJ*, as well as for many writers of the twelfth century, Charlemagne was a model crusader *avant la lettre*. The *LSJ* follows this bit of historical fiction with another, contemporary fiction: a bull of crusade calling for war against al-Andalus attributed to Pope Callistus II (but, in fact, an invention of the author). He appeals to the audience to follow the example of Charlemagne in cleansing the Peninsula of Islam:

> You have often heard, o Beloved, how many ills, calamities and how much suffering the Saracens have brought upon our Christian brothers in Spain. There is no one who can tell how many churches, castles, and lands

> they have devastated, and how many Christians, monks, priests, or lay people they have killed or sold as slaves in barbarous and distant lands, or clapped in irons or afflicted by torture …
>
> Therefore I beseech you, my children, that you understand how important it is to go to Spain to fight with the Saracens and which what grace you will be rewarded if you go there voluntarily to do so. We already know that Charlemagne, king of the Franks, the most famous of all kings, established the crusade in Spain, fighting fiercely against the infidels, and that his blessed companion Turpin, archbishop of Reims, city of the Franks, granted full remission of sins to those who then went and those who later went to fight the infidel in Spain, to increase Christianity, free the Christian captives, and there suffer martyrdom for the love of God.
>
> … all those who go forth as we have said, with the sign of the cross of the Lord on his shoulders, to fight the infidel in Spain or the Holy Land will be absolved of all their sins for which they have repented and confessed to their priests, and will be blessed by God and the holy Saints Peter, Paul, and James, as well as all the other saints, and with our apostolic blessing; and will be worthy of being crowned in the heavenly realm, together with the Holy Martyrs who have received the Palm of Martyrdom since the beginning of Christianity until the end of time.
>
> … Whomsoever brings this written letter from one place to another, or from one church to another, and preaches it publicly to all, will also be rewarded with eternal glory. All those who preach it here, and go forth to Spain (or to the Holy Land), will have eternal peace, honour, and happiness, victory, strength, long life, health, and glory. May Our Lord Jesus Christ, whose kingdom and empire remain eternally, so ordain. Amen. May his will be done. May his will be done. May his will be done.[58]

The language of the *Codex* is unequivocally the language of crusade, both in its call for Christian continuity in fighting Islam on the Peninsula, and in granting to Iberian crusaders the same material and spiritual benefits earned by crusaders in the East.

Writing some years after the *Codex Calixtinus* in the beginning of the thirteenth century, chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada likewise took pains to link Iberian crusade both to past Iberian Christian/Muslim conflicts and to eastern crusade. Jiménez de Rada links Alfonso VI (conqueror of Muslim Toledo in 1085, and liege lord of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, aka The Cid) to the great crusading families of the eastern campaigns. This says much about how Castilian royal authority was constructed vis-à-vis the larger European political scene (Rodríguez García 220–1). A monarch who had, before the First Crusade, reclaimed the historical capital city of Christian Hispania (Toledo) some twenty

years before Pope Urban II began preaching the First Crusade must still present his bona fides as a (French) crusader in order to be considered a truly great monarch.

By the period of Alfonso X the purpose of later historical works such as the *Gran conquista de Ultramar* (*GCU*) and *Poema de Alfonso XI* was to attract nobles to the frontier "crusade" against al-Andalus and north Africa in the service of the king. However, the "crusading spirit" was often against the interests of the king, who might have Muslim allies or wish to bring other Muslims under his protection for one reason or another, and who had a good deal of Muslim subjects whose interests he also represented (Rodríguez García 49). Alfonso advocated crusades and had political and family ties to many important crusaders. He was clear (at least in his rhetoric) about his designs on the Holy Land, following the *iter per Hispaniam*. In his last will and testament he ordered that his heart be buried in Jerusalem.[59]

The *GCU* (probably begun during the reign of Alfonso X and finished under Sancho IV) served the twin purpose of reinforcing the will to fight against Iberian Islam and projecting Alfonso's desire to participate in the eastern crusade. While this inclination toward Jerusalem would appear to contradict the historical papal interdictions to stay home and fight the domestic infidel, in Alfonso's role as aspiring Holy Roman Emperor it made perfect sense: the Holy Land was key to leading the Latin West (Rodríguez García 225).

One of the key tasks of the *GCU* was to provide an explanation for the massive slaughter of Christian innocents committed by some crusaders. The work does this by distinguishing between "false" and "true" crusaders (González, *Ultramar* 49). Another is the exaltation of crusade as a divinely guided and approved project. The description of battlefield miracles and the celebration of crusaders' martyrdom at the hands of the Muslim enemy muddies the distinction between chronicle and hagiography. These miracles differ from hagiographic miracles in that they serve to resolve the moral contradictions in holy war rather than attract pilgrims to a shrine or inspire piety (González, *Ultramar* 50). There is a certain process of narrative analogizing at work here by which the miraculous examples of hagiography are reverse engineered for crusade. The crusade's objective is holy, but not miraculous. Saints have miracles associated with them, but not crusades (at least not until the thirteenth century, when Louis IX is canonized).[60] However, the compilers are here borrowing a bit of the hagiographical sanctity by suggesting, particularly in their account of Christian martyrdom so common in hagiographical narratives, that the same apply to the crusader narrative at hand.

While the *GCU* is largely cobbled together from French chronicles, there are Iberian flourishes in the translation, some of which foreshadow the texts that form the body of this study, as we will see. For example, in the *GCU* version of the "Knight of the Swan" segments of the text that explain the genealogy of Godfrey of Bouillon (1060–1100), the hero of the First Crusade, the villain is made into a Muslim, who burns churches. The hero Godfrey defeats and decapitates him.[61] The *GCU* promotes the theme of Latin unity, linking the lineage of Alfonso X to that of Louis IX, while at the same time contrasting the crusading defeats suffered by Louis with Alfonso's victories.[62]

In 1291, the fall of Acre, the last crusader stronghold in the East, stimulated renewed interest in crusade in the West. Although the various projects inspired by this loss did not result in any new conquests in the East, the narratives it generated shaped political agendas (and, I will argue, the imaginative fiction) of the times. While most eastern crusades ended in failure, Iberian campaigns were more often than not successful, a fact which may explain why Alfonso X and other Christian kings supported the translation into Castilian of narratives of pilgrimage and crusade such as the *Fazienda de Ultramar* (ca. 1210), the *Anales de Tierra Santa*, la *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (ca. 1285), and the *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry.[63]

While the *Poema de Fernán González* does not describe any crusades per se, it is wrapped in the ideology and "mentality" of crusade, making numerous references to the Castilians as a "pueblo cruzado" (crusading people), and demonizing the Muslim enemy as sorcerers and devil worshippers in contrast to Christian troops who confess, take communion, and pray before doing battle, for which they earn remission of their sins (Rodríguez García 232–3). Similarly, the Marian poetry of the times makes frequent reference both to specific crusade campaigns as well as to the ideology of crusade, in reference both to Iberia and the East.[64] Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* contains a number of portrayals of Christian battles against Muslim forces, most of which do not give voice to ideologies of crusade, but view Andalusis simply as a military threat.[65] However, in *cantiga* 360 Alfonso makes a straightforward plea to the Virgin to help him rid the Peninsula of Islam:

> I beg you, Holy Crowned Virgin,
> since you are God's daughter and Mother and our Advocate,
> that I may have this favour granted me by God for your sake:
> that I may expel the sect of Mohammed from Spain.[66]

This was no mere rhetorical flourish; Alfonso's crusading ambitions extended to north Africa, and after attending to the administration of recently colonized Seville (1248), Alfonso secured in the first years of his reign a series of bulls of crusade for his planned campaigns in north Africa.[67] Thus, images of the Virgin Mary as warrior and missionary in the *Cantigas* reinforced royal crusading policies and aspirations under Alfonso X (Holt).

The historiography of the times propagandizes for crusade, if only in a pro-forma manner. Mostly these comments are limited to reinforcing the idea that war against the Muslims (of al-Andalus) is a form of holy service, and that in so doing one may earn remission of sins and reduce one's time spent in purgatory. But the lion's share of references to crusade in Alfonsine chronicles are perfunctory and do not enter into the details of crusading theology (Rodríguez García 205–7). One notable exception is the portrayal of Fernán González in the *Primera crónica general* before the battle of Hacinas against the Hajjib (Regent) al-Mansur (Almanzor in Spanish sources).[68] Pelayo, the mythologized hero of the first Christian victory against the Umayyads, appears to González in a dream, announcing that both he and Santiago will appear on the battlefield to ensure that the Christians rout the Muslim forces:

> Are you sleeping, Fernán González? Wake up and go to your men, for God has granted everything you have asked. Know that you will defeat Almanzor and all his troops, but you will lose many of your men in so doing. And Our Lord says this to you as well: because you are his vassal, he will send you Santiago and myself, and with us many helper angels, and we will all appear on the battlefield with swords, and each of us will have a cross on his pennant, and when the Moors see us, they will be defeated, and will leave the battlefield despite their best efforts.[69]

The account of the conquest of Cordova in 1236 by Ferdinand III in the *Primera crónica general* (ca. 1289) is rich with crusading imagery and ritual, such as the rededication of the mosque, the prayers and battle cries, and the description of the king carrying the cross into battle, among others.[70] Other chronicles of the times likewise noted the religious nature of wars against Muslim armies, and record the pre-battle speeches, prayers, and other ceremonial trappings of crusade, such as the religious banners and relics brought into battle (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 251–3).

Alfonso X's nephew Don Juan Manuel, an important author in his own right, also paid literary homage to the idea of crusade, emphasizing

the idea of Christians' divinely ordained right to occupy the whole of the Peninsula, and the martyrdom reserved for any who might die in campaigns against Muslim forces:

> So many people believed [in Muhammad] that [the Muslims] took control of many lands, and conquered many – and still have them today – that used to belong to the Christians who were converted by the Apostles to the faith of Jesus Christ. And because of this there is war between Christians and Muslims, and there will be until the Christians have taken back the lands that the Muslims took from them … and the good Christians understand that God granted that because of all the ill done to them by the Muslims, the Christians are justified in waging holy war against them, and that all who so die, having fulfilled the commandments of the Holy Church, will be martyrs, and through their martyrdom their souls will be cleansed of any sin they have committed.[71]

One of Don Juan Manuel's contemporaries, the poet Rodrigo Yáñez, celebrated the campaigns against Andalusi Muslims as crusades in his *Poema de Alfonso XI* (1348). The poem recounts Pope John XXII's authorization of a crusade against Granada: he tells King Pedro III: "Go and conquer Granada / in the name of God the Father, for it is fitting / that I grant you the crusade as well as the *décimas*."[72] In fact, Pope John XXII granted Pedro III a third of the décimas of Castile as well as the bull of crusade against Granada, offering all who served a full year in the campaign the same indulgence as those who served in the eastern crusades (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 140).

From these remarks we can see that the ideology and literature of crusade emanating from Rome and France took root in Iberia and inspired a specifically Iberian crusade culture, emphasizing Christian Iberia's local frontier with Islam and the conversion of subject Jews and Muslims. The literature of Iberian crusade, from its origins in historiography and poetry, would then flourish in the fictional texts written in the various languages of the peninsula over the course of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, as we will learn in the following chapters.

# 1 *Ziyad ibn ʻAmir al-Kinani:* Andalusi Muslim Crusade Fiction

We have seen in the preceding chapter how the geopolitical realities, ideologies, and discourses of crusade gave rise to a crusade imaginary that took root in the Iberian Peninsula. In this and the following chapters we will explore how Iberian authors cultivated this imaginary in their fictional works.

We do not typically associate Arabic and Islam with protagonists of crusader culture. Up until this point our sources have been Christian, and written in Latin or Romance languages. These Christian sources portray or represent Islam, Muslims, and the Arabic language at times, but in the story of Ziyad ibn ʻAmir al-Kinani we have what we might call an Arab Muslim crusader, or at best a hero, who is Arab and Muslim, who also shares many characteristics with Christian protagonists of crusade fiction.[1] In addition, the work incorporates Arthurian motifs found in French chivalric romances that circulated in Romance-speaking western Europe in the thirteenth century when the manuscript containing *Ziyad* is dated.

This apparent paradox – a Muslim crusader – begins to make more sense when we step back and take a look at the Iberian literary practice of the times. In the first half of the thirteenth century we have very little in the way of what we might call literary prose fiction written in Latin or Romance by authors living in the Iberian Peninsula.[2] There are the versified saints' lives and Marian tales of Gonzalo de Berceo, some Latin *exempla* such as those of Petrus Alfonsi, perhaps too schematic to be considered literary fiction as such, and some other texts that one might justify including in a study of literary fiction by authors writing in Latin or Romance languages. By contrast, Iberian writers working in Arabic and Hebrew by the mid-thirteenth century produced a robust corpus of literary fiction: rhymed prose *maqamat*, wisdom literature, highly novelized philosophical dialogues, and other genres that Christian

authors would, over the course of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, translate into Latin and Romance languages of the Peninsula, and begin to imitate in their own original compositions.

By the thirteenth century, Jewish writers in Christian kingdoms were familiar with the popular literary genres of the region (in particular Provençal troubadour poetry and Arthurian romance), and began to incorporate elements of these genres into their own work in Hebrew. Granada, while not technically part of Western Latin Christendom, was a client state of Castile and as such was under its influence culturally to a certain extent. In any event, the tale of Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani is not an isolated example of a Hebrew or Arabic writer working with themes or materials drawn from Latin and Romance traditions. It is, however, the only example that finds a place in a study of the crusade fiction of the Peninsula.

That having been said, what is particularly striking about this tale, written by an anonymous author (ca. 1250), is that it describes a Muslim hero who conquers pagans in the name of Allah – itself certainly not a novelty in Arabic literature – but does so in a decidedly "crusader" way. We have in our Ziyad a curious example of a Muslim hero who demonstrates many characteristics typical of the chivalric fiction of the age of the crusades. This would be strange if our author hailed from the east, but coming from Granada in the thirteenth century, as we will see, it is a logical development in the literary practice of the Peninsula in the thirteenth century.[3]

The work is set in a flashback at the court of the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid, where the hero is being held captive. Ziyad has been summoned by the caliph to regale him with stories of his own adventures, in a narrative frame consciously derived from the setting of *1001 Nights*.[4] The text narrates the adventures of Ziyad ibn 'Amir, drawing upon both the literary conventions of the Arabic and the Romance traditions of heroic and chivalric narrative, including Arthurian motifs found in Arthurian romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Just as many medieval fictions written in French and other Romance languages deal with crusading themes, or describe situations in which the hero converts entire communities of non-Christians to Christianity, Ziyad likewise is responsible for the conversion of an entire kingdom of pagans to Islam. His feat echoes scenes from the semi-historical Arabic narrative traditions of the expansion of Islam and the victories of Muslim heroes against Christian or pagan foes, but at the same time builds a storyworld that flows from the chivalric fiction of the Latin West, in which Christian knights of the crusading period defeat and

sometimes convert their Muslim enemies en masse. *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani*, as we will discuss below, also reflects the author's current reality of living in the last Muslim state in Iberia, now reduced to a client state of Castile-Leon.

Substituting pagans for Christians, the story of Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani is a kind of fictional wish fulfilment by which the author represents a triumphant Islam in a fictional world borrowed in part from the culture of the Christian court dominating Granada. In so doing, it turns the crusader narrative on its head, subverting one of the most popular genres of the Christian ruling class while cultivating a hybrid fiction representative of the cultural life of the Andalusi elite under Castilian hegemony.

## *Ziyad* and Arabic Literary History

Much as the chivalric romances in Western Latin tradition are linked to earlier *chansons de geste* and classical epic material (Brownlee, "Crossroads" 254; Fuchs, *Romance* 39), *Ziyad ibn 'Amir* is likewise in some ways an evolution of the popular Arab epic and narratives of Islamic conquest.[5] In the thirteenth century, some popular Arabic narratives related tales of later heroes of Islamic expansion and their struggles with enemies in the Islamic world, Byzantium, and against the crusader kingdoms. These include *Sirat Dhat al-Himma*, *Sirat al-Zahir Baybars*, and other traditions that flourished in Arabic during the time when *Ziyad* appeared (Heath, "Other Sīras" 367–8).

These siras (Ar. plural *siyar*) were popular oral epic traditions that produced little in the way of literary manuscripts until modernity.[6] This is an important fact in understanding the relationship of *Ziyad* vis-à-vis the medieval novel in French and Spanish. While the chivalric romance has its roots in oral epic traditions, it evolves into a courtly literary tradition during the twelfth century, while the Arab epic does not. The vernacular became an important vehicle for courtly literary expression in the Latin West; the same did not happen in al-Andalus and north Africa. Though it is true that Andalusi authors were great experimenters with the use of vernacular language in literary compositions, with the possible exception of the twelfth-century Andalusi poet Ibn Quzman, they typically did not compose whole texts in the vernacular.[7] Neither was it the case that literary manuscripts of Arabic epics were entirely vernacular; rather they employed a kind of middle register of Arabic that was a far cry from the formal pyrotechnics typical of learned rhyming prose narrative of the times, the type of classical Arabic that was considered fit for courtly audiences.[8]

Other popular literary texts of al-Andalus and north Africa, such as the *101 Nights* were, like the eastern *1001 Nights*, set at court, but were in no way part of a courtly literature. Rather, they reflected the values of mercantile society, and populated the court of Harun al-Rashid with merchants, artisans, and other members of the middle class along with tales of kings and princesses (Sallis 1; Ott 260; Fudge xii). *Ziyad* shares popularizing linguistic features with the *101 Nights*,[9] but shows us a world populated with knights and ladies and the occasional slave, a social world that more resembles that of the French chivalric romance than the *1001 Nights*, with the key exception of its being set in the Muslim East. In this way, *Ziyad* is a sort of hybrid of the Arab popular epic, the chivalric novel, and the popular Arabic narrative *Nights* tradition.

In order to develop this analogy between *Ziyad* and the chivalric romance, a few words about the Arabic narrative in al-Andalus are in order. Both the *Ayyam al-'Arab* (a literary account of some of the major battles of early Islamic expansion)[10] and the sira were quite popular in al-Andalus.[11] The Arabic sira, like its romance counterparts in the vernacular prosifications of epic chronicles, places great emphasis on the vicissitudes of the protagonists' love life (Kruk, "Sirat 'Antar" 296).

Andalusis were enthusiastic practitioners of Arabic heroic narrative[12] since at least the tenth century, when it became very important to prove one's Arab *bona fides*.[13] During this time Andalusi Muslims began to certify their Arab lineages and became conspicuous practitioners of traditional Arabic literary culture.[14] José Ramírez del Río lists fifty Andalusi scholars (ninth–twelfth centuries) who were expert in the *Ayyam al-'Arab* tradition. He writes that these writers scrupulously followed Eastern tradition, in an effort to "orientalise" Andalusi courtly culture. Several of these authors versified Andalusi history, including the feats of non-Arab Andalusis of Berber or Iberian origin, in the style of the Eastern siras laced with allusions to the siras of early Islam.[15] The Andalusi tradition of the *Ayyam al-Arab* survived well into late Spanish Islam as is attested by its sixteenth-century *aljamiado* (Castilian written in Arabic characters) rescension, the *Libro de las batallas* (Reynolds, "Popular Prose" 258; Galmés de Fuentes, *"Batallas"*).

While *Ziyad* does consciously demonstrate continuity in some respects with the Arabic heroic narrative, it shows us a very different social world. That of the later siras maintains the values of the earlier siras in which heroes of lower social class, such as Antar, son of a black slave woman and an Arab knight, overcome social barriers to achieve great success and renown (Heath, "Other Sīras" 238). This class difference creates conditions that require the hero to prove over and over again his military and moral superiority, and is particularly characteristic of

popular literature (Heath, *Thirsty* 38). By contrast, Ziyad ibn 'Amir is born a prince, and no such barriers stand in his way. Indeed, in *Ziyad* the enemy is here black, as opposed to *Sirat 'Antar* where the hero is black. The popular tendency to celebrate the underdog is, while not completely absent (there is a slave character who is depicted as noble and heroic), much tempered in comparison to the siras.

Ziyad is more like the heroes of the chivalric novel in that his excellence is a reflection of his aristocratic background, and as such reinforces the current social order. This is perfectly logical when one considers the authorship and audiences of the texts: the popular siras were composed and transmitted orally, and have very few medieval manuscript witnesses. We can say the same of the Castilian epic *Cantar de Mio Cid*, which many critics believe to be of popular origin.[16] The hero Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar is an *hidalgo*, a nobleman from the lower ranks of the aristocracy. Popular audiences are more likely than courtly audiences to promote the transmission of underdog heroes (or conversely, the moral failures of aristocrats and royals).

Ziyad's relationship to Arabic heroic narrative parallels in some sense the relationship between the chivalric novel and the *chansons de geste* and Iberian epic traditions. Just as one of the functions of the chivalric romance is to effect a sort of *translatio narrationis* from classical antiquity to modernity (Agapitos and Mortensen 6), the Arabic siras and *Ziyad* likewise tie the fictional worlds they create to the more authoritative storyworlds of the classical period of Islam.[17] The protagonist of the *Sirat 'Antar*, for example, is traditionally identified with the pre-Islamic poet 'Antara, author of one of the seven pre-Islamic odes or *Mu'allaqat* that were, according to tradition, once suspended from the Qa'aba stone in Mecca (Kruk, "Sirat 'Antar" 292). Other siras are set in the world of the early years of Islamic expansion, historical fictions meant to mobilize the authority of the textual world of classical Islam in new fictional narratives (Heath, "Other Sīras" 328). In *Ziyad*, Princess Saadi is the daughter of Tariq al-Hilali, making her a descendent of the famed tribe of the Banu Hilal, heroes of the eponymous Arab epic set in the age of Islamic expansion.[18] This name provides the fictional world of Ziyad continuity with that of the heroic world of the siras without making any explicit claims to historicity.

The themes of conquest and conversion that propel the early Arabic heroic narratives in their retellings of the great battles of early Islamic expansion, with their accounts of the conversion of idolaters and the subjugation of populations of Jews and Christians coincide perfectly with the expansion of the Christian kingdoms of Iberia and the subjection of large populations of Christians and Muslims, a reality that shapes

Iberian discourses of crusade. Here they are inflected in an Andalusi key with the addition of linguistic, cultural, and geographic details contemporaneous with the projection of crusading ideals, motifs, and texts on the Christian Iberian world. Arabic heroic narrative had, since the *Ayyam al-'Arab*, depicted the conflicts between the Islamic community (*al-'ummah*) and non-Muslims, and these representations always took care to link later conflicts with those of early Islam. *Sirat Dhat al-Himma* narrates historical conflicts with Byzantines, and *Sirat al-Zahir Baybars* novelizes Sultan Baybars' crushing defeat of the Knights Hospitallers at Antioch, a defeat from which the crusade movement would never recover (Heath, "Other Sīras" 328).[19] *Ziyad* is a sort of ahistorical continuation of this trend, substituting the pagans for Christian crusaders much in the same way that French and Castilian texts substitute pagans for "Saracen" foes.

**Andalusi-Castilian Acculturation**

This harkening to the mythic-historical Arab past of the siras blends with a certain acculturation to the culture of the dominant Castilian court that had subordinated Granada over the course of the thirteenth century.[20] Writing from north Africa, the historian 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun observed in the fourteenth century that nations who are dominated politically by their neighbour tend to imitate the cultural practices of the dominant kingdom:

> A nation dominated by another, neighbouring nation will show a great deal of assimilation and imitation. At this time, this is the case in Spain [al-Andalus]. The Spaniards [Andalusis] are found to assimilate themselves to the Galician nations [Galicia, Asturias, Castile, Navarre] in their dress, their emblems, and most of their customs and conditions. (Ibn Khaldun 116)

This idea is borne out by other evidence in the plastic arts and to a lesser extent in literary sources. Some forms of Granadan literary culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries demonstrate the kind of assimilation described by Ibn Khaldun. Granadan author al-Azdi's "*Maqama* of the Festival" begins to converge stylistically with works by authors writing in Castilian and French.[21] Cynthia Robinson has described the thirteenth-century Granadan narrative *Hadith Bayad wa-Riyad* as a kind of Andalusi *roman idyllique* (*Medieval Andalusian* 172–82). This trend extends to the plastic arts and architecture; chivalric themes from the Arthurian imaginary even penetrated the

Alhambra itself (a monument often described as a symbolic bulwark of Andalusi aesthetic in an age of Christian political dominance), as Robinson demonstrates in her study of the paintings of the ceilings of the Hall of Justice.[22]

That this exchange of Arthurian themes and chivalric sensibilities should pass from France to Castile to Granada in the thirteenth century supports Ibn Khaldun's assertion that the Granadans of his day were assimilated, to some extent, to the culture of the Christian north.[23] The Hebrew literature of the time likewise begins to assimilate techniques and habits of thought from vernacular Romance literary practice, with authors such as Judah al-Harizi and Jacob ben Elazar (both thirteenth-century, Toledo) blending Andalusi and vernacular Romance literary materials and styles in their work.[24]

These borrowings and transformations of literary styles and modes of representation take place in a specific political and ideological context. The Arabic heroic narrative tells the story of the Islamic expansion and the growth of the *'ummah* that is meant to justify the political order of the Islamic societies of the ninth century that produced them, not to faithfully reproduce events of the seventh century. They cannot be taken as historically accurate objective accounts of events.[25] Neither can we read French crusade chronicles and epic songs as empirically correct accounts; their authors quite openly sought to justify the current political order and root this justification in revelation (Querol Sanz, *Cruzadas y literatura* 21).

Part of the role of fiction – and we may include medieval chronicles and epic in this category, inasmuch as they lack the type of empiric objectivity to which modern historiography pretends – is to narrate the fears and desires of a society. Someone (it might have been V.I. Lenin or Bertolt Brecht, though the attribution is contested) famously observed that "art is not a mirror held up to reflect reality, but a hammer with which to shape it." As an art form, narrative fiction does both: it reflects the material, social, and ideological realities of the communities it serves, but also shapes them by putting ideological and political goals in service to the emotional cathexis generated by the stories narrated.[26] Narrative fiction tells truths that did not necessarily happen, but that we still hold to be true. For medievals, narrative genres that today would have to pass empirical litmus tests were judged by different standards, by their capacity to communicate values or bear witness to events as they were *believed* to have happened, for reasons that resonated with the values of the community, even if they would come to be at odds with the empirical assessments of modern historians (Mehtonen 89; Green 28).

In the case of *Ziyad* the author borrows literary forms representing two different ideological positions and adapts them to serve his own: the *sira* narrates the triumph of Islam in the region, while the crusade narrative narrates the triumph of Christianity. How can a narrative serve two masters? It does not have to. What the author of *Ziyad* takes from the crusader narrative is not a specific ideological position as in the *Chanson de Roland*'s famous "Christians are right! Pagans are wrong!" (Tolan, *Saracens* 105; Kinoshita, *Boundaries* 15), but rather a mode of representation, and certain heroic and aesthetic values that gained a measure of prestige in Granada due to the geopolitics of the region. Just as Christian Iberian elites were avid consumers of Andalusi science, military technology, and architectural style,[27] influence also flowed in the other direction, especially once Granada was subordinated to Castile politically. Ziyad's "crusaderness" (and by this I mean the measure in which he acts, talks, and *feels* like a crusader from a French or Castilian narrative) is an aesthetic choice, but not an ideological statement. It is a form of acculturation, one that is put in the service of a literary vision of Islamic triumphalism very much at odds with the crusading culture it emulates. To us, Ziyad as a Muslim crusader is a perfect paradox, or at best highly ironic. But to the author it was likely a fashionable representation of a hero of Islam, who righted wrongs and brought erring pagans into the House of Islam, for their own good. If Christian writers fantasized about repeating the success of the First Crusade, or later, the restoration of a Christian Constantinople, we should not wonder that Granadans should fantasize about converting infidels (standing in for Christians) to Islam *en masse*.

## *Ziyad* and the Arthurian Tradition in Iberia

In order to understand how *Ziyad* relates to the chivalric and crusade literature of Christian Iberia, we need to know a bit about the reception of Arthurian romance on the Peninsula.[28] When do Iberian authors begin to adapt literary representations of courtly behaviours such as are novelized in the Arthurian romances and the songs of the troubadours? Our best-known examples are of course the Spanish chivalric novels of the sixteenth century, beginning with Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* (1508), but there is significant evidence of Iberian reception of Arthurian-style courtly discourse beginning in the twelfth century, when Iberian troubadours, writing in a variety of Peninsular literary languages, begin to make reference to Lancelot and Tristan in their verses (Entwistle 12; Thomas 22–3). By the first third of the fourteenth century, Peninsular readers have access to Castilian translations of the

Grail Cycle.[29] However, *Ziyad* is perhaps the first full-fledged work of narrative fiction in the Peninsula to present a chivalric world of such clear Arthurian influence, and certainly the first to include Arthurian motifs as yet uncultivated by other Iberian authors. It predates the Castilian translations of Arthurian texts by at least half a century.

In addition to considerations such as the narrative structure, we can learn a lot about *Ziyad*'s position in the Andalusi-Mediterranean literary system by paying close attention to the features of courtly life represented in the text, which we may understand as having elements both of actual courtly practices and of literary representations of such in Arabic and Romance sources. A brief overview of other forms of cultural commerce and exchange, including coinage, architectural styles, and the chivalric culture of Nasrid Granada demonstrates that the borders between Granada and Castile were culturally porous. Castilian frontier ballads describe a population of bilingual, bicultural border dwellers.[30] This movement of Arthurian themes and chivalric sensibilities from France to Castile to Granada in the thirteenth century supports Ibn Khaldun's assertion that the Granadans of his day were assimilated, to some extent, to the culture of the Christian north.

There are a number of examples in *Ziyad* where the protagonists appear to be practising courtly mores commonly associated with the chivalric culture of Latin Christendom. That is, these are examples of the characters *acting* like those in chivalric fictions. The most striking similarity between *Ziyad* and chivalric fiction is the narrative discourse itself, that is, the extent to which *Ziyad sounds* like chivalric fiction, in its patterns of representation, in the descriptions of settings and behaviours, in the narrative logic of the text.

As is common in the French chivalric romance, the narrator provides detailed descriptions of arms and clothing.[31] This level of detail is not common in popular Arab epics of the period, in which narrators would substitute hyperbolic generalizations (i.e., "there were *all manner of foods*") for the kind of exhaustive and specific detail common in *Ziyad* and in romances (Heath, "Other Sīras" 238). The descriptions of courtly armour and dress approach the level of detail we see in romances, as we see in this description of the princess Salma when Ziyad sees her for the first time:

> Then I hid myself among the trees of the valley, and saw a maiden wearing a robe of yellow brocade, shining necklaces and garland of roses on her head. In her hand she carried a silver bowl in which she gathered all kinds of roses, fragrant flowers, lilies, and daisies.[32]

As in the romances, these descriptions extend to architecture and especially interiors, such as the castle of the princess Rafidat al-Jimal where Saadi is being held captive:

> I saw a castle whiter than a dove, whose tall walls cast more shade than the clouds, built mostly of carved plaster and carved wood. It also had wrought stones, concave crystals, and rare marble; it was surrounded by gardens with a variety of trees. In the castle's peak were three towers of finest sandalwood, where maidens – endowed by God with beauty and grace and happiness – played ouds and zithers. The castle wall stood one hundred times the height of a man, and its circumference was eighty thousand arm's lengths.[33]

Descriptions of combat are strikingly similar to those found in romances and Spanish *novelas de caballerías*, such as the battle between the lord of al-Laualib castle and Sinan ibn Malik:

> They had at one another with lances until they broke, and then took to wounding each other with swords until they dulled, and then grappled and fought hand-to-hand, trading insults. They stared into each other's eyes, rubbed stirrups, and though their arms tired and their foreheads sweated, they struggled a long time on the battlefield.[34]

The details of single combat described here are very similar to those found in Arthurian narratives contemporary with *Ziyad*. Similarly, the descriptions of Ziyad's courtly education echo the narrations of the youthful exploits (Fr. *enfances*, Sp. *mocedades*) of chivalric heroes meant to demonstrate their precociousness in arms, eloquence, or the administration of justice. Ziyad's early education is presented as a matter of course for a boy of his standing. He begins to learn courtly subjects at age twelve: "When I turned twelve, I learned to ride, to play music, to tilt and play other games with the lance, and to fence with steel blades" (Al-Shenawi 67; Fernández y González 6). Here there is no sense of struggle to achieve these goals that is common to popular epic such as *Sirat 'Antar*, and in its place we observe the princely entitlement to such pursuits. While the young slave Antar demonstrates his military prowess with his bare hands because of his poverty (the idea being that he is too poor to afford a sword),[35] the narrator of *Ziyad* makes it sound as if these pursuits were part of the normal curriculum of a boy of his station, which in fact they were. Ziyad is a man of the court, and despite the text's linguistic similarity to popular narrative traditions that

represent non-elite social worlds, Ziyad is in and *of* the court, as much as any Galahad or Tristan.

The chivalric world of *Ziyad* is constructed from materials native to Arabic tradition, but the techniques are common also to chivalric romance: the long, detailed descriptions of arms, armour, and clothing. The geography, often fantastic or loosely reflective of historical geography in French or Spanish tradition, or perhaps a quasi-realistic Mediterranean populated by fictional characters as in *Tirant lo Blanch* (Riquer, "Martorell" 87), an Iberian-Levantine amalgam as in some French crusader *chansons de geste* and romances (Trotter 74), or a fantastic/eastern setting in the *Libro del caballero Zifar*, is drawn from the Arabic tradition but *feels* like feudal Europe.[36] It is a hybrid geography that draws from both literary and geographical traditions. When Ziyad travels off in search of Saadi, who has been kidnapped by the jealous and drunken Al-Jamuh, he passes through

> a black country, vast and sterile, where there were no men and no dwellings, and the only sounds heard were those of the comings and goings of the children of the accursed Iblis. Not a wolf entered there that was not struck senseless, nor a lion that did not become sick with thirst. Whoever goes in is lost, those who come out are broken. No shrub grows there other than the colocynth; no grass other than the wall rocket [diplotaxis, Sp. *jaramago*]. Any water seen there is cause for amazement and shines like candlelight or the yearning of the traveller who wanders lost; no person alive would dare to drink it, neither would any thirsty person seek it out, for it is so hot it burns going down and tastes like mud. (Al-Shenawi 72; Fernández y González 10)

The description, rendered as is typical of medieval Arabic fiction in rhyming prose to underline the poetic effect of the landscape's strangeness,[37] includes details familiar to readers of Arabic from traditional sources: the reference to Iblis (the Devil), the colocynth bushes and wild herbs that provide the only sustenance in the desert (Pignone and Martínez-Laborde), all could be found in a medieval Arabic *maqama* or *risala*.[38]

One of the core values of the chivalric literature contemporary with the crusades is, of course, the cult of courtly love, the conventions and discourse of the hero's devotion to his lady. Just as the military orders sought to regulate knighthood by subjecting knights to a rule similar to those of the religious orders, the chivalric literature of the times extends this tendency to the love relationships between the knight and his lady,

fusing the bonds of vassalage characteristic of feudal hierarchy (the lady as liege lord) with those of religious devotion (the lady as divinity) required of the religious orders. In this scheme, the crusader-knight exercises military power in the service of both God and his lady, who is sometimes conflated with God, in what Alexander Denomy famously described as *The Heresy of Courtly Love*, in a book by the same title. Like his counterparts in Arthurian tradition, Ziyad carries out his military exploits in the name of his lady, and never for strategic gain alone (Segre 35). This is complicated somewhat by Ziyad's polygamy. While some Arthurian knights errant punctuate their devotion to their lady with side affairs in the course of their travels, they do not typically marry even one of their loves (González, *Reino lejano* 105). Ziyad, by contrast, marries them all. However, the series of lovers that in romance would be problematic from a Christian doctrinal point of view is resolved by Islamic polygamy (Walker 52), widely practised by Andalusi kings, though not so by the general populace as far as we know.[39] For example, when Ziyad arrives at the camp of Al-Jamuh and surprises Rafidat al-Jimal, she agrees to help him free his wife Saadi and his father-in-law on one condition: that he also take Rafidat al-Jimal herself as a wife. She explains:

> I am ready to repair the damage, rewarding you and reuniting you with your wife Saadi, under one condition.
>
> – What do you demand? – I quickly asked the princess.
>
> – A place in your heart; I, too, want to be your wife, and have you as my husband. (Al-Shenawi 74; Fernández y González 12)

Next to this interesting Islamic legitimation of the multiple dalliances we observe in *Ziyad* another phenomenon characteristic of the Western chivalric romance: a consciousness and discourse of the chivalric code itself.[40] The characters do not simply act according to the chivalric code, they discuss and reflect upon it. When Ziyad sneaks into the camp of Al-Jamuh and his daughter Princess Rafidat al-Jimal, he reprimands Al-Jamuh to his daughter's face:

> I treated him well, freeing him from receiving blows of the lance in front of the tribes of the Arabs, and he pays me back by stealing my wife in my absence, killing and enslaving the subjects and relatives of such an exalted princess! (Al-Shenawi 74; Fernández y González 12)

The consciousness of this code extends to the ongoing negotiation of favours and debts of action between the protagonists, such as in

this exchange between Ziyad and Rafidat al-Jimal after she drugs her father Al-Jamuh. Ziyad says to her, "Since we are speaking of what one deserves, what more compensation or justice applies here, than what you must do to repay me for your poor behaviour?" (Al-Shenawi 78; Fernández y González 12). And again, when Rafidat al-Jimal finds that Saadi is still true to Ziyad, despite her offer to marry her own father Al-Jamuh for a substantial dowry, she pronounces aloud her approval that Saadi is loyal not to Ziyad himself, but to Love: "Rafidat al-Jimal replied: 'You do right, Saadi, and by truth you act in accordance with the loyalty that love demands'" (Al-Shenawi 77; Fernández y González 12). The characters refer to a code that is greater than any one situation, a code of behaviour that is assumed to be known both by Saadi and by the audience as well. It is almost as if Rafidat al-Jimal were breaking the fourth wall, speaking *to* the audience rather than to her friend Saadi. In this way *Ziyad* follows Arthurian romance in that it functions as a type of novelized conduct manual, offering examples both positive and negative of the behaviour expected of a knight or lady.[41]

Likewise, Rafidat al-Jimal's father Al-Jamuh, when confronted with his own defeat at the hands of Ziyad, is contrite and openly acknowledges that he has not complied with the courtly code: "Oh, Ziyad, I cannot look you in the eyes, for you have been just with me, whereas I have treated you in a manner most unbecoming" (Al-Shenawi 78; Fernández y González 12). This novelized consciousness of chivalric culture shows us that Iberian authors did not simply transmit chivalric narratives, but rather consciously reflected and shaped the chivalric discourse of their society by tailoring the tropes and codes of chivalric behaviour to their own specific literary traditions and social values.[42]

This adaptation of chivalric sensibility and ambience extends to the use of material from Arthurian narratives circulating in the Peninsula. The motifs of the underwater realm and the fairy wife appear in the episodes of Ziyad's marriage to Princess al-Jahamiyya,[43] mistress of the submerged castle of al-Laualib (Al-Shenawi 89–96; Fernández y González 22–6), and in the following episode of his marriage to a lady *jinn* named Khatifat al-Hurr.[44]

First Ziyad arrives at the castle, which each night submerges into the lake:

> When the sun rises above the horizon, the castle begins to rise up from the waters below, until it reaches the level of land; then the horses go across a bridge to forage, and the cows and flocks of sheep go out to graze. In the evening, when the sun begins to set, the flocks, cows, and horses return, and once again go down beneath the water, that is, they enter into the

> castle of Al-Laualib, yielding to its rhythms. (Al-Shenawi 85; Fernández y González 19)

There Ziyad is greeted by its mistress, who is dressed as a knight. She challenges him to combat, in the course of which Ziyad notices with some surprise that his opponent is female.[45] Finally, he defeats her and proposes marriage. She accepts and he becomes her king and lord of the submerged castle. As in the Arthurian Lady of the Lake motif, the underwater realm is enchanted, but the protagonist does not sire any offspring with the fairy lover.

In the following episode, however, Ziyad encounters an enchanted lady who bears him a son and then releases Ziyad after the boy is two years of age. One day Ziyad goes out hunting a beautiful gazelle, and becomes lost in the woods. What follows is a perfectly conventional encounter of the hero with an enchanted fairy so common in western folkloric tradition:[46]

> Once the sun was down, I saw that the gazelle was climbing a high mountain, where a trail led that looked as if it might have been an ant trail or the path up to a beehive; she continued her flight and I followed behind, until I came to a cave into which she entered. I dismounted and followed her into the cave, and the darkness surrounded me; but in its midst I was able to see a maiden, radiant as the midday sun in a cloudless sky. (Al-Shenawi 98; Fernández y González 29)

The woman, Khatifat al-Hurr, describes herself as "one of the believing *jinn*" (*min al-jinn al-mu'min*).[47] In this way the compiler brings the Arthurian supernatural wife motif into line with the values of the Islamic textual community, by giving the supernatural a Quranic point of reference. Her supernatural character is further reconciled with Arabic and Islamic tradition by association with astrology, a scientific discipline with a significant corpus of texts attested in the Abbasid period and beyond (Samsó, *Islamic Astronomy*; Samsó, *Astronomy and Astrology*; Fahd, "Nudjūm"). Her father was an astrologer who predicted Ziyad's arrival.[48] She reveals that she appeared to Ziyad in the form of a gazelle and enchanted him so that he would follow her to her hidden castle. An affair between a fairy (or *jinn*) and a human hero is hardly unique to *Ziyad* in Arabic tradition: there are many such examples.[49] None of them, however, hews so closely to the pattern of Celtic legend and Arthurian romance as this episode in *Ziyad*. The use of these motifs should not surprise – if Arthur and Tristan graced the walls of the Alhambra, and (according to Ibn Khaldun) Andalusis used

the heraldry of the northern Christian nobility, it stands to reason that Andalusis should also borrow from the literature of chivalry in their own tales of war, even Islamic holy war.

Chivalry and the world of courtly love in which it operates became fused, during the twelfth century, with the crusading culture that gave rise to the military orders charged with protecting and sacralizing knighthood. This means that the knight is perforce both courtly lover and holy warrior. These fused sensibilities, propagated by Arthurian romances increasingly charged with religious sentiment (culminating in Robert de Boron's *Grail*), are the raw materials for the author of *Ziyad* in constructing an Islamic holy warrior patterned on the Arthurian hero. However, in this case, the hero is a champion of Islam against paganism; a paganism that in *Ziyad* stands in for Christianity as the rival power that must be defeated if order is to be restored. The author of *Ziyad* maps the conventions of Christian holy war onto a struggle between Islam and paganism in which paganism is a thinly veiled stand-in for Christianity itself.

**Pagans and Saracens**

This recasting of the religious Other as pagan is common in the French epic and romance of the times, and the author of *Ziyad* may well have taken cues from this trend, blending "Christian" tastes with established traditions of representing the enemies of Islam as pagans. French chivalric narratives (both *gestes* and romances) often represented Saracen villains as pagan idol worshippers. *Ziyad* turns this representation around, making the pagan idolatrous villain a stand-in for the Christian crusaders, the enemy of the Muslim chivalric hero. As we will see, this was hardly without precedent. Islam always distinguished itself from paganism. There was, since the early years of Islamic society, a deep resistance to and prejudice toward pagan religion. Just as Jewish tradition traces the roots of monotheism to Abraham's destruction of the household idols, Islam was since its earliest beginnings a response to the pagan cults of the Arabian Peninsula. Islamic tradition regarded the region's pagans as *mushrikun*, or idolaters who did not form part of the *Ahl al-kitab,* the People of the Book, and whose beliefs were not to be tolerated.[50]

Later sources mention groups that worship stars, fire, and various other cults with which Islam came into contact, particularly in Persia, the Balkans, and what is today Hungary. However, the Arabic epics and other traditions upon which the author of *Ziyad* draws spend little time on paganism, and are more concerned with conflicts between Muslim

factions or with the region's Christians and Jews. However, Arabic narrative tradition also represents mass conversions of pagans (and sometimes Christians) to Islam. Ziyad's mass conversion of the defeated pagans is therefore far more characteristic of medieval Christian literature than it is of Arabic narratives by Muslim authors, who tend to frame the *jihad* of the crusader period as a defensive war. Nonetheless, Muslim propagandists responded (if not directly) to Christian crusade chroniclers in kind, lionizing leaders such as the Mamluk sultan Baybars, hero of the eponymous *sira*, as mighty champions of *jihad* against the infidel Frankish invaders.[51] Unlike the case of Christian clerics who developed very ambitious programs to convert subject Muslims and Jews to Christianity, Muslim rulers did not typically seek to aggressively proselytize subject Jews and Christians after defeating their Christian kings. On the one hand, the Islamic doctrine of *dhimma* (protected religious minorities) legitimized the practice of Judaism and Christianity as inferior, but valid interpretations of revelation. On the other, *dhimmi* populations were subject to a special poll tax (*jizya*) that was a source of revenue for Muslim sovereigns. An Islamic crusader who converted Christians and Jews would be out of step with both historical practice and Islamic doctrine. But an Islamic crusader who converted pagans would make perfect sense to a Muslim audience in the thirteenth century, who would likely mentally substitute "Christian" for "pagan" with little encouragement.

Medieval Christian sources (especially chronicles of the First Crusade, written before the crusaders had an opportunity to get to know Islam up close and personal as they did once they settled in the Levant) often represented Islam as a pagan religion and its adherents as pagans.[52] This was rooted in Western Latin Christians' identification with early Roman Christians vis-à-vis the pagan Roman state (this is, of course, referring to the period before Constantine's conversion).[53] Medieval Christians likened themselves to the (good) Apostles, while their Muslim counterparts played the (bad) Romans. By this logic, they represented Muslims as pagans who prayed to statues of Muhammad (Tolan, *Saracens* 109–12). John Tolan writes that the converse was also true: Christian sources referred to idols by "the name of Muhammad in various corrupted forms (Mahomet, Mahon, Mahoum, Mawmet)."[54]

Conversions of Saracens, especially women in twelfth-century French *chansons de geste*, represent the desire to manage and control the Muslim Other in the context of Christian society.[55] Sharon Kinoshita has written on the *Prise d'Orange*, a twelfth-century *chanson de geste* narrating Guillaume of Nîmes's conquest of the city of Orange and

his seduction and conversion of the Saracen queen of Orange, Orable. According to Kinoshita, the mapping of the political struggle between Christian and Muslim polities onto the seduction of Muslim Orable by Christian Guillaume lends the erotic story a special charge that "makes standard tales of courtly love seem like stylized, depoliticized repetitions" (*Boundaries* 48). It is also noteworthy that Guillaume's interest in Orable is not exoticizing; he is attracted by her superlative beauty and character, and the poem describes her in precisely the same terms as any French beauty of the times, with pale skin and fair hair. Her otherness is not physical, but rather religious, linguistic, and cultural (Kinoshita, *Boundaries* 53–4).

The Iberian imagination took a slightly different approach to converting the Saracen enemy that reflected local policies and practices. While French jurisprudence tended to restrict the rights of Muslim spouses of Christians and their offspring, Alfonso X's *Siete partidas* (II.29.7) expressly grants rights of inheritance to children of a Christian knight who, while held captive in al-Andalus, has children by a Muslim woman (Ramey 58–9). The mid-twelfth-century *Siege de Barbastre* features a Muslim woman who seeks conversion and marriage to the Christian hero.[56] We can read her as an allegory for the Christian desire to conquer and dominate the East (or in this case, the West). Later thirteenth-century narratives such as *Floire et Blancheflor* (whose Castilian adaptation we will discuss in chapter 4) and *Aucassin et Nicolette* reflect Christian disillusionment with the failing crusade movement. Their depictions of the far-flung journeys of their Christian-Muslim protagonists voice confusion over the role of interreligious contact in Christian society (Ramey 5). The example here in *Ziyad* turns the table on the earlier French narratives of conversion. The Muslim crusader Ziyad converts pagans to Islam, just as earlier French heroes converted "Saracens" to Christianity. Turnabout is fair play; the pagans in *Ziyad* are, it seems, coded stand-ins for the very Christians whose literary imagination brought forth the crusader hero upon which Ziyad is based.

### Conversion of Pagans in *Ziyad*

While the majority of Ziyad's enemies and conquests are ostensibly Muslim, his final conquest is of the kingdom of the villainous Astrologer King who is a pagan. Once Ziyad's wife Khatifat al-Hurr (whose own father was, as she tells us, also an astrologer), comes to her husband's aid to defeat the pagan ruler, the Astrologer King accepts Islam along with the fealty he now owes to Ziyad. Here the pagan king embodies Islamic traditions about star-worshipping pagans combined

with pagan astrologers drawn from the pages of French and Castilian literature. When he faces Ziyad, he makes the following speech:

> I have learned that you are Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani. Know that I am an astrologer [*rajul munajjim*], who has been waiting for you here, scheming against you, until the moment arrived to get my hands on you. Now I swear to you by the Goddesses Allat and al-'Uzza, as well as by all mighty idols, by fire, and by the Tree of Colors [*shajarat al-alwan*], that I will make an example of you that will become proverbial among the tribes of the Arabs. (Al-Shenawi 105; Fernández y González 34)

Here the king claims to be a worshipper of the pre-Islamic goddesses Allat and al-'Uzza. He also swears by "fire," a reference to Islamic authors' traditions about the cult of fire in Persia, the Balkans, and among the Magyars in the early period of Islam, and by the "Tree of Colors."[57] The diction of the second part of the pagan king's oath ("by all mighty idols, by fire, and by the Tree of Colors") mimics the Trinitarian doctrine (The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit).

The pagan Astrologer King is a curious figure in this context, and therefore a bit of discussion of perceptions of astrology and astrologers in Arabic and Western Latin tradition is in order. Astrology (or astronomy, for in the thirteenth century there was as yet no distinction made between the disciplines) is not typically identified with villainy in Islamic sources. In popular Arabic literature, "astrologer" is synonymous with "wise man," or "man of the court." Numerous references to astrologers in the *1001 Nights*, for example, support this idea.[58] In fact, "astrologer" seems to be a kind of shorthand for "wise man."[59] However, a star-worshipper, one who *worships* stars and planets, rather than God, as opposed to the astrologer who *studies* them, certainly falls into the category of *mushrik*, or idolater, and is worthy of opprobrium in an Islamic context. In short, Islamic society in general did not view astrology or its practitioners in a negative light – in fact, they were considered scientists and were valued members of court elites. Star *worship*, however, was problematic, and viewed as a form of idolatry going back to the cults of Allat and Al-'Uzzah mentioned in the Qur'an.

Christian views of astrology were more mixed. While some forms of astrology were licit, others were viewed as heretical and dangerous (Tester 125). In 1277 Bishop Steven Tempier of Paris condemned a number of Aristotelian teachings connected to astrology as heretical (Tester 177). During the same period, Alfonso X of Castile-Leon took a more

nuanced (and perhaps charitable) stance in the *Siete Partidas*. According to him, as one of the seven liberal arts, astronomy

> is respectable only so long as a recognized scholar studies and practises it; unauthorized persons should avoid it. The other type is that which seers and sorcerers practise. The law contends that they are harmful and deceitful men and are therefore prohibited from residing within the jurisdiction of the law.[60]

Fiction contemporary with the First and Second Crusades exploited astrology's reputation as a potentially dangerous art by representing Saracen/pagan villains as astrologers, particularly those who are not available for seduction and/or conversion by the Christian protagonist. In French romances, pagan characters are sometimes depicted as astrologers, reflecting at once historical awareness of the status of astrology as a legitimate discipline in the Islamic world and a questionable one in Western Latin Christendom. Some are "good" Saracens (usually women or girls) who come to the aid of the Christian hero, and others (usually older men) are villains. These astrologers are bad not because they are astrologers, but because they are not Christians. One example that is instructive for the astrologer-king in *Ziyad* is the twelfth-century romance *Floovent*, about a war between Christians and Muslims, whose villain is "an old pagan doctor, Jacob, [who possesses] the power of prophecy by reason of his astrological knowledge."[61]

Iberian sources, notwithstanding Alfonso's approval of (certain forms of) astrology, follow this same line. The eponymous hero of the *Poema de Fernán González* claims that

> The Muslims, as you well know, are guided not by God, but by the stars, which they have made into another, new Creator. By their power the Muslims see marvels.[62]

This condemnation of astrology as a form of star-worship coincides (at least in principle) with Islamic bans on star worship cults of the Arabian region. Elsewhere Muslim astrologers appear as skilled diviners and counsellors, but not as diabolical heretics or sorcerers, such as in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, in which the Muslim queen Halabra "began to watch the stars and cast lots, because she wished to tell the future."[63] The further we get from the Alfonsine moment, when Christians were still under the spell of a far superior Andalusi astrology (as evidenced by Alfonso's translation of al-Zarkali's *Tables*), the more strident

Christian estimations of astrology become. By the fourteenth century, Pero López de Ayala condemns astrology most forcefully among medieval Hispanic authors in the *Rimado de Palacio* where he equates it with paganism (Corry 163). Likewise, the *Ordenanzas Reales de Castilla* promulgated by Juan I in 1386 specifically and in no uncertain terms forbid the practice of astrology (San Martín 515–16; Corry 222n68).

What all of this means is that the author of *Ziyad* took pains to heed the legacy of Arab epic with respect to religious values (the hero is a good Muslim, the villain is a *mushrik* or idolater), but writes in a sort of modified romance-mode. The evil astrologer pagan king is taken right from the pages of a French romance, but where in the French romance the evil pagan king would be Muslim, here his idolatry is likely a code for Christianity. Many chroniclers of the Andalusi period refer to Christians as *mushrikun* (polytheists).[64] Here the author of *Ziyad* simply expands this idea in a literary setting informed by models from Arthurian romance.

The image of Ziyad ibn ʻAmir as a vanquisher of pagan astrologers and hero of mass conversion owes at least as much to Arthurian chivalric literature and its projections in the literature of the crusades as it does to Arabic narratives such as the *1001* or *101 Nights*. It provides us with a window into the cultural imagination of thirteenth-century Granada, at once the last redoubt of Islamic polity on the Iberian Peninsula as well as a cultural crossroads where forms popular in the Christian north as well as in the Arab Muslim world came together under the influence of Christian dominance and Granadan acculturation. The result is the tale of the "Muslim crusader" Ziyad ibn ʻAmir al-Kinani, one in a series of texts that gave voice to a specifically Iberian crusade imaginary in the form of prose fiction.

# 2 A Knight Errant in the Iberian Crusade Imaginary: *Libro del Caballero Zifar*

The tale of Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani shows us that the crusade imaginary as a fictional aesthetic crosses religious and linguistic lines, despite the apparent ideological contradictions such a crossing would seem to present. As Castilian authors of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries began to adapt the crusader imaginary of the Latin and French authors of the previous century, their specific experience as Iberians (and in most cases, as Iberian Christians) influences the shapes their fictions give to the fears and desires of the societies in which they live. In great part, this difference is due to Christian Iberia's involvement with Islamicate civilization. Christian Iberia's cultural life, and in particular that of Castile, was very much predicated on this complicated and historic relationship with Andalusi culture. The Iberian crusade imaginary shares much with its French counterpart, but responds to a direct, prolonged, and complex relationship with the real-life counterpart of the "Saracen" of French *gestes* and chronicles.

To begin with, many Iberian Christians lived with and among Muslims and Arabic speakers. A number of Castilian Christians were of Mozarabic (Arabized) Christian heritage, which further complicates the relationship between Iberian representations of the cultural and religious conflict between Christians and Saracens that populated French crusader fictions. While Iberians understood military conflict with al-Andalus as a localized crusade, a second front on the war on Islam whose primary objective was Jerusalem, it was at other times for them a sort of regional family fight between Iberians of different religious traditions. As a work of fiction, the *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (ca. 1300) responds to both the discourse of eastern crusade and to that of the local Christian conquest of al-Andalus. In its pages, we see local attitudes toward Arabic and Andalusi culture blending with the eastern crusader imaginary of exotic locales, the geographical legacy and hagiographical

memory of eastern Christian martyrs. Through the fictional process, *Zifar* artfully represents the commodification of the spoils of two fronts of crusade. The first is the commodification of relics of Byzantium and the Levant; the second that of the Arabic learning of al-Andalus so sought after by Castilian elites. Zifar is a fictional avatar allegorizing local attitudes toward crusading culture, mediating between French models and Iberian experience of crusades eastern and western, historical and fictional.

In this chapter, we will first turn our attention to the work's prologue, which I argue is an allegory for the cultural work of the assimilation of Andalusi learning as the spoils of the Christian conquest of al-Andalus, in which the quest to recuperate the bones of Cardinal Gudiel for Toledo represents (using the relic as vehicle for commodification) the repurposing of Andalusi learning for Christian Iberia. Next, I discuss the work's performance of eastern geography and (often faux) Arabic vocabulary, which combines the historical translation of Andalusi texts with the crusade-era vogue for eastern geography overlaid with a hagiographic geographical memory. Finally I explore how Christian Iberian entanglement with Andalusi culture complicates the Christian-Muslim struggles in French models of crusader fictions. This last part, which we might think of as two related details in a larger tapestry depicting a long, complicated family history, has two aspects. The first regards the transmission of bits of Arthurian material from French to Castilian texts via Andalusi Arabic (remember our friend Ziyad from the previous chapter), and the second is the author's performance of Arabic learning as a marker of crusading triumph over al-Andalus, but simultaneously as a marker of Mozarabic (Toledan, Christian, Arab) identity during a period when French and papal interests dominated the Spanish Church.

In the prologue to the *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (hereafter *Zifar*), the author of the prologue tells us that the work is not his own creation, but rather that he found it and translated it into Castilian:

> Because man's memory spans a long time, men cannot remember ancient things if they are not put into writing. Therefore the translator of the story you will hear from this point on, which was translated from Arabic (*caldeo*) into Latin and from Latin into Spanish, placed and established these two aforementioned things in this work in order that those people who will come after the people of this time will live when the year of the jubilee is to be celebrated and that they may go to Rome to win the fullest pardons, which will be granted at that time to all who may go there, and that they may know that this was the first cardinal who was interred in Spain.[1]

There is no apparent connection between the fact of the work's (putative) translation, and the question of the first cardinal to have been buried in Spain. However, in the course of this chapter, I hope to convince you otherwise. As I mentioned above, the question of Spain's Arabic legacy and the repatriation from Rome of Toledo's last Mozarabic cardinal are very much related, and are two important points in Zifar's articulation of the Iberian crusade imaginary.

First comes the question of the book's putative Arabic origin. Critics have argued over the question of *Zifar*'s translation for some time. Most agree that it was not itself a translation from Arabic, but was written in Castilian. Roger Walker, the only critic to argue in favour of an actual translation, writes that *Zifar* has a "clearly Semitic ring" to it (33n29). Perhaps more interesting than whether or not the work is a "real" translation is this: if the work is not a translation from Arabic, why does the author use so many proper nouns and place names that appear to have been adapted from or invented in imitation of Arabic? What is the meaning of the "clearly Semitic ring"? Why the *performance* of translation?

The answer is complicated and lies at the intersection of Western Christendom's relationship with the East, Castile's relationship with western Europe, and finally, with Castile's relationship with al-Andalus, its neighbour to the south that was rapidly being incorporated into Castile itself. In short, relics and texts were arms and currency in a pan-Mediterranean struggle for military, spiritual, and economic supremacy between Latin Christendom and Islam.

The prologue to *Zifar* describes the quest of Ferrant Martínez to translate the remains of Cardinal Gonzalo Gudiel from Rome to his native Toledo. This act of physical translation, according to the prologue's author, required the same sound judgment, wisdom, and mettle required by the knight Zifar himself to meet the challenges he faced in his wide travels and fantastic adventures.[2]

The book is the story of Zifar's quest to restore the honour of his family, who were once kings but have fallen due to their poor behaviour and weak moral values.[3] Zifar is, like all protagonists of chivalric romances, an impossibly talented knight. However, he suffers a curse: his horse dies every ten days. This defect, perhaps symbolic of his ancestor's abuse of their noble station, only emphasizes his excellence at arms: even without a horse, Zifar can best all comers (Arbesú-Fernández, "Caballos"). Following the script of the knight errant, Zifar departs from court in search of adventure and a better future. What follows is a loose adaptation of the legend of St Eustacius, laced with lots of knightly adventure, a healthy serving of Mirror-of-Princes type lecturing, and

loads of refrains and proverbs peppering the dialogue (Gómez Moreno 132). The work's structure is similar to that of a Byzantine novel, with shipwrecks, plot twists, separations, and reunions. In the end, Zifar becomes king of the land of Mentón, and his son Roboán sets out on his own adventures and becomes king of Tigrida, a land situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The recuperation of Zifar's family honour resonates with Iberian crusade as a project of restoring that which was lost. For the eastern crusade, the followers of Christ are recuperating the holy sites that comprise his legacy. They belong to the Christians by right, for the Christians are the only ones who can carry out Christ's mission of salvation by keeping the holy sites safe. In the case of the Iberian crusade (what later historians would begin to refer to as the "Reconquest"), Iberian Christians' conquest of al-Andalus was for them simply the recuperation of territory that had once been theirs, but that had been usurped by invading Muslims in the eighth century. The narratives we have been studying, both literal (i.e., "historical") accounts of events believed to have happened, as well as tales of heroes (whether loosely historical, such as Godfrey de Bouillon or purely fictional as in *Zifar*) are meant to lend legitimacy to the current political situation by creating a mythical golden age to which we are meant to return. Just as Christianity and Judaism are in some sense a quest to return to a state of grace we once enjoyed in Eden, the earthly struggle to recuperate land intended for us by God himself enjoys the support of a system of narratives. Fictions such as *Zifar* are a kind of symbolic marketplace in which the manipulation of spiritual, financial, and military resources unlocks greater potential for realizing ideological goals, just as in the economic marketplace, the conflation of symbolic and concrete values (as in a monetized economy, for example) unlocks potential for greater profits.

In the prologue to the book, the author describes the adventures of a canon of Toledo, Ferrán Martínez, who undertakes a journey to Rome, where he pleads with the pope to allow him to repatriate the body of the recently deceased Cardinal Gonzalo Gudiel to his native Toledo. Apparently, the cardinal had made his protégée Martínez promise that he would translate his remains to Toledo, thus contradicting the practice of burying cardinals in the Vatican. It looks like a difficult proposition, but it is the jubilee year 1300, and the pope is feeling munificent. In the end, Martínez is allowed to return to Toledo with the cardinal's remains, and the reader can breathe a sigh of relief (González, *Reino lejano* 53–4).

What does this episode of ecclesiastical wrangling over the cardinal's remains have to do with the adventures of our knight Zifar, who also

goes by the sobriquet "The Knight of God"? This nickname is no accident; as we have seen in chapter 1, theorists of crusade imagined crusaders as an army of God engaged in what was effectively an armed pilgrimage. Zifar carries out this ideal not in a literal tale of crusade set in the historical Levant, but by representing (indirectly) specifically Iberian ideals of crusade and cultural conversion set in a semi-historical East. Unlike Perceval, Zifar is not on a quest for an important Christian relic (as in the Grail romances); rather, he is a sort of fictional avatar of crusading values projected onto an Arthurian/crusading landscape built on a foundation of Andalusi geographical writing.[4]

The prologue's author himself steps in to make the connection between the prologue and the adventures of Zifar, where he moves from the description of the recuperation of Gudiel's body to an excursus on God's grace, to the deeds of Zifar himself:

> May whoever God endowed with common sense begin and complete good and decent works in the service of God and to the benefit of those who hear of them and with honor to himself. Even though the work may be long and cost much effort, one ought not to despair of being able to finish it no matter how many troubles happen to him; for that true God, Keeper of all things, whom a prudent man places first in his work, will allow him to carry out successfully what befits him. This happened to a knight from India, where Saint Bartholomew the Apostle had carried the gospel after the death of our Savior, Jesus Christ. This knight was baptized with the name Zifar and afterwards was called the Knight of God because he was ever close to God and God was always with him in all his deeds, as you will hear from this point on ... (González, *Libro* 65–72; C.L. Nelson 6)

The implication is that the deeds of both Martínez and Zifar are heroic and therefore worthy of praise and of preservation in narrative. The archdeacon's efforts to restore Cardinal Gudiel's remains to Toledo for the greater glory of Toledo and of Castile, and Zifar's efforts to restore the honour of his lineage through works of chivalric Christian charity and justice, are, in the mind of the author, analogous.

In this way, the author of the prologue paints the archdeacon as a kind of knight itinerant in the context of the Latin church, transferring some of the readership's abiding love for Arthurian knights errant onto his ecclesiastical mission, and at the same time infusing the tale of Zifar's chivalric deeds with hagiographical material and a liberal dose of Christian sermonizing.

This analogy of Martínez's quest to that of the knight errant Zifar points to the broader Mediterranean context of the work, the struggle

for political and spiritual hegemony in the region. Relics such as the remains of the cardinal and translations of Arabic texts such as *Zifar* purports to be are two types of ammunition in this struggle. In a sense, the literary translation project in Castile-Leon and the translation of relics such as those of Cardinal Gonzalo Gudiel are related: both are about accumulating power and prestige in Castile vis-à-vis Western Christendom and Islam.

On the face of things, this analogy of the prologue's author seems thinly wrought. The archdeacon's mission is hardly on the same level as the exploits of an Arthurian knight. Cristina González claims that this division may have been exaggerated by the editor of the 1512 Seville edition, whose separation between prologue and body of text is "arbitrary" (*Zifar* 51n6). The more meaningful connection between prologue and narrative is thematic, not structural. I argue that both are concerned with accumulating power and status in Toledo and Castile-Leon by means of translation. Zifar's mission is a metaphor for the translation of Andalusi learning to Castile-Leon, a martial metaphor for intellectual "Reconquest" played out in crusade geography. In turn, Ferrant Martínez's mission to translate the remains of Cardinal Gudiel represents another form of consolidation of power and status in Toledo achieved by means of the translation not of texts, but of relics. Both tales narrate the accumulation of symbolic cultural capital in Castile-Leon in the broader Mediterranean context. In the prologue this happens through the repatriation of the cardinal's remains; in the main narrative Zifar is a symbol of Castile's appropriation of Andalusi learning and science. Both acquisitions are the *spolia* of broader, related conflicts played out on the stage of the Mediterranean: the struggle for the Mozarabic elites of the Church of Toledo to maintain their identity in the face of domination by Castilian and extrapeninsular actors, and the shared military-spiritual struggle of Western Latin Christendom against Islam both on the Iberian Peninsula and in the eastern Mediterranean.

As with the case of *spolia* and in the spirit of Pierre Bourdieu's comments about the "universal reducibility to economics" (253), the incorporation of the *spolia* of a conquered regime was a way to demonstrate mastery symbolically while leveraging material resources. That is, Bourdieu is correct in pointing out that the semiological ("that column was hewn by those people we conquered. Doesn't it make you feel powerful to see it in our new building?") and the economic ("marble is expensive ... wasn't there a perfectly good column in those pagan ruins?") are very closely intertwined.

The same is true of *Zifar.* The author's use of material drawn from the wisdom literature translated during the long thirteenth century is

a conspicuous form of appropriation of Andalusi learning calculated to raise the prestige of the Castilian court and the Church of Toledo. Such symbolic work is a characteristic function of medieval romances, which have always been about legitimation and *translatio imperii* (Brownlee, "Crossroads" 254). Romances do this by leveraging the resources of fiction to link current dynasties with the great regimes of the past. They construct narratives of political and cultural continuity allegorized into tales of separated lovers, single combat, and happy reunions. Romance maps the individual's desire for personal success (in relationships, in military and spiritual success) onto a broader political-historical tableau.

In the French romance, this *translatio* is about classical antiquity and at the same time overlaid with the crusading impulse to physically translate the relics of the Eastern church to the Latin West. When Chrétien de Troyes assures us that he is not going to sing us a *geste* about the exploits of knights on the battlefield, but rather is going to teach us lessons from classical antiquity, he is linking his fictional project to the historical legacy of antiquity.[5] At the same time, there is a consciousness that it is in the Latin East that the treasures of history, whether symbolic (scriptures, tales, lore) or concrete (relics, riches), are to be found. The political, artistic, and religious sources of Western Latin Christendom were to be found in the books and relics of the Christian East. The books could be translated into romances, but the relics had to be physically transported and placed in the service of Western cults in order for their power to be unlocked.

*Zifar* legitimates Castile's participation in the struggle for the Mediterranean against Islam. It does not do so directly, as in crusade narratives that depict Christian knights waging holy war against Muslim enemies. Rather, it does so by portraying a triumphant Christian knight as master of a fictional East, and by performing the conversion of Andalusi learning (*Zifar* itself is presented as a work translated from Arabic) for use in the Castilian court. The genre of chivalric romance often legitimates the social, political, and military order.[6] As I will explain below, *Zifar* reinforces Castilian ideologies of crusade and conquest in a number of ways. As a Castilian adaptation of the Arthurian knight errant figure, it legitimizes the crusading project in the Peninsula and abroad. More specifically, the Arthurian Grail cycle, here mapped onto the recuperation of Gudiel's body, legitimizes the plunder of Eastern relics by Western knights. *Zifar* also addresses the specific situation of Castile. In it, the performance of Andalusi learning legitimizes the conquest of al-Andalus and the concomitant exploitation of Andalusi information technology and material science. Finally, the performance of Arabic (and specifically of Christian Arabic, since this is not

a narrative of conversion) legitimizes the Mozarabic legacy in the face of centuries-long domination by both Castilian and non-Iberian actors.

**Fiction as Catalyst for Cultural Capital**

What do crusade, relics, translations, and cultural identity have in common? All of these issues are tied together by the problem of cultural capital, which I modify somewhat from Pierre Bourdieu's formulation to call "symbolic capital." This concept is useful for bringing together these two examples of translation (relics and texts) and for locating *Zifar* in the broader context of ideological, theological, and military conflicts that obtained in the thirteenth century in the Mediterranean context.

Bourdieu argues that cultural capital, or rather cultural forms to which the value resulting from abstracted labour is adduced, can be transmitted in concrete form or symbolically. Material examples of cultural capital are objects of art, monuments, instruments, and so forth:

> The cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality ... Thus cultural goods are appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital. (246–7)

Cultural capital can also be transmitted symbolically, in the form of institutions, customs, and information that must then be translated by labour or by commerce into value. In both cases, Bourdieu points out that all attempts to reproduce cultural capital, to transfer it or translate it, "is at the same time a legitimation strategy aimed at consecrating both an exclusive appropriation and its reproduction" (254). That is, the appropriation of capital, whether holy remains, architectural monuments, or secular knowledge, implies a legitimation. This legitimation serves to commodify the value inherent in the capital, rendering it fungible in a new context, one that did not provide the labour necessary to generate the value associated with the object. For Bourdieu, the legitimation of cultural capital is what unlocks its value as a commodity that can travel across cultures and political borders. Relics, monuments, technologies, and information are all examples of cultural capital that than be commodified in this way.

In the larger project of crusade, religious conversion (at least in the eastern crusades) does not figure prominently. In Iberia, however, it is a significant part of the project of conquering al-Andalus. We will discuss this difference at length in the following chapter on Ramon

Llull's *Blaquerna*. However, the conversion of territory from Muslim to Christian rule, and the conversion (and commodification, as I will argue) of Christian relics, are both processes that we can understand as pieces of a larger comprehensive system of conquest and conversion of territory, souls,[7] technology, and intellectual resources, including the translation of scientific and philosophical texts.

Bourdieu's idea of capital lends itself particularly well to the problem of translation, especially when taken in a broader socio-political context. According to him, "conversion," the commodification of different forms of capital that allows the value thereof to travel across social and political contexts, is key to understanding the production of cultural capital. He emphasizes that the conversion of capital holds two principles in tension: "economism," the idea that everything is ultimately reducible to economic value, and "semiologism ... which reduces social exchanges to phenomena of communication" (252–3). This model of the tension between the symbolic and the economic is very useful for understanding how translations of both texts and relics functioned as part of a broader system of cultural capital in medieval Castile.

In the cases of both the relics and the Andalusi learning as represented in *Zifar* I modify Bourdieu's idea slightly, calling them *symbolic* capital. That is, both Gudiel's bones and Andalusi learning are not the capital itself, but rather are symbolic of the capital that they represent. Both require labour or some external effect to attach value to them. A monument such as the Mosque of Cordova is material capital in and of itself, by dint of its architectural splendour and sheer beauty. A relic such as the bones of Cardinal Gudiel is not itself capital. It is a human bone, physically indistinguishable from any other. Its value as a commodity depends upon the labour of institutions and cultural practices. It represents the sanctity that adheres in it and the potential for commercial and military success that this sanctity unlocks.

By the same token, *Zifar* is mostly not actually a product of Andalusi learning translated from Arabic into Castilian, although parts of it are certainly adapted from Arabic texts. Rather, it is symbolic of and suggestive of that corpus of learning, and likewise of the military, political, and material benefits such learning can catalyse. *Zifar* is not the Alfonsine Astronomical Tables or the Averroist commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*. It does not contain information from those texts. It is a text that performs the Castilian appropriation of these scholarly traditions, in a drama of legitimation meant to celebrate and reinforce the value of the Andalusi intellectual legacy in the context of a Christian Castile. It is a performance of symbolic cultural capital.

The knights of Arthurian tradition, so popular throughout western Europe and the Iberian Peninsula at the time, were the fictional avatars of the crusading orders. As fictional characters free from medieval conventions of historicity (that to us moderns appear generously flexible), they were able to carry out symbolic work that historical figures could not. Their words and deeds gave voice to the preoccupations of the times that in some ways rang truer than historical words and deeds. Unlike historical figures, whose words and deeds in fictionalized accounts must in some way correspond to their historical reality, fictional characters are entirely bespoke. Ferrant Martínez is fully aware of this when he compares his journey to Rome to the quests of Zifar, Castile's answer to Lancelot and Tristan.

Zifar, after all, is hardly the first "Knight (errant) of God." The crusader tendencies in Arthurian literature, present from its beginnings but increasingly pronounced as the discourse of crusade gained steam in the sermons, papal bulls, chronicles, and *chansons de geste* of the twelfth century, culminate in Robert de Boron's version of the *Quest for the Holy Grail*, written at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In Boron's *Quest*, the knight Perceval goes on a quest to recover the Grail used first by Jesus at the Last Supper and then by Joseph of Arimathea to collect the blood from the wounds of the crucified Christ (115–56). Boron's version explicitly linked the medieval Grail narrative to the Gospels and the Apocrypha (Barber 40). It brings together the world of Arthur and Lancelot with that of Christ and the early Christian martyrs, serving as the backstory to the many Christian relics that crusaders sought to recover for Latin Christendom. It was, if you will, the crusaders' *Star Wars*, the distillation of their spiritual heroic ethic. This crusading turn in the chivalric novel was amplified by the fourth crusade of the early thirteenth century, when French knights took control of Constantinople and extracted Byzantine relics for consumption in the west (Queller and Madden; Freeman 123–5). As discussed previously, the thirteenth-century Castilian adaptation of French crusader chronicles *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* contained both fictional and historical chivalric exploits, and the conflation of these we see in *Zifar* is already well underway in, to cite one example, the descent of the historical Godfrey of Bouillon from the fictional Knight of the Swan (*Caballero del cisne*) (González, *Ultramar* 66). According to Martín de Riquer, the appearance of the *GCU* inspired the composition of original romances of chivalry in Iberia and is probably indirectly responsible for *Zifar* (335). Cristina González adds that the *GCU* is an important influence in the composition of *Zifar*, in terms of its structure, individual motifs, and even specific turns of phrase (107–8).

While historical chronicles of the crusades such as the *GCU* make an attempt to represent the geography of the East accurately, at least according to the best information available at the time, the fictionalized narratives of crusades take more liberties, or perhaps are simply less concerned with geographical accuracy. French crusading narratives tend toward ambiguous geography and sometimes confuse the East (Persia/Babylon) with Spain (Trotter 75). This vague exoticism obtains even in the best-known French romances, where crusading themes are typically absent, but in which authors frequently display, in the words of David Trotter, an "Oriental exoticism indicating familiarity with the Holy Land or Byzantium" (Trotter 128–9n2). We can read the exotic East of the western literary imagination as an index for the crusades in the chivalric fiction of the times.

*Zifar* takes place precisely in this vague East, in "las Yndias" according to the author, who gives the setting a veneer of the geography of Asia as it was understood in the West. He links the story with that of the Apostle Bartholomew, who according to tradition preached the gospels in India:

> This happened to a knight from India where Saint Bartholomew the Apostle had carried the gospel after the death of our Saviour, Jesus Christ. This knight was baptized with the name of Zifar and afterwards was called the Knight of God because he was ever close to God and God was always with him in all his deeds, as you will hear from this point on. You will be able to see this and understand this by his deeds.[8]

It is worth noting that thirteenth-century Castilians would have known of Saint Bartholomew from Jacob of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* and other sources (Baños Vallejo, *Vidas* 235). This characterization of Zifar as the "Knight of God" is related to but somewhat different from that of the crusaders as "vassals of God" (Trotter 95–6). The author here is describing a devout knight of a far-flung Christian community, at the time of early Christianity, the same time during which many of the lives of early saints and martyrs take place. He describes Zifar as a holy warrior who accompanies and is accompanied by God in everything he undertakes. The eastern setting is typical of many of the saints' lives that were so popular in thirteenth-century Castile, but also common to the narratives of crusade that flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in Iberia in the fourteenth and fifteenth.[9] We should also bear in mind that both Tirant lo Blanc (the subject of chapter 5) and Esplandían, protagonists of two of the most influential chivalric romances of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, end their

careers respectively as Caesar and emperor of Constantinople, keeping alive the dream of a Christian East at a time when the loss of Constantinople to the Turk was still living memory.[10] The chivalric romance continued to be a site of geopolitical fantasy well into the age of print. Even Don Quixote engages in a bit of fantasy football-like speculation, pitting the literary hero Amadís de Gaula against the Turk in his imagination (Cervantes, *Don Quijote* 552, *Don Quixote* 461).

The introduction of the Western Christian knight-crusader Zifar to this setting conflates the hagiographic, the chivalric, and the crusade narratives. At the same time it activates what Carl Jubran calls the "internal Orientalism" peculiar to Christian Iberia.[11] The imagined setting beyond the Tigris and Euphrates with its anachronistic but strangely familiar Arabic window dressing recalls the Christian Iberian engagement with the Arabic culture of al-Andalus, which was often articulated in terms of holy war (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 8–9).

The eastern setting, which spans India to Babylonia, with its twin resonances of hagiography and crusade, is also the site of the translation of another form of cultural capital, namely the transfer of eastern relics to the West, one of the most profitable by-products of the crusades. In taking control of the holy sites of the Levant, and especially of Byzantium, Western knights developed a massive market in relics, for which contemporary authors of hagiographies and miracle tales fuelled a healthy demand.

Relics had been an important commodity in medieval Europe, for they made it possible to undertake pilgrimages locally instead of travelling to the East. It was (and is) believed that divine power adhered in the physical remains of or in objects associated with Christ, the Virgin Mary, or the saints from which they originated. According to Patrick Geary, "the bodies of saints were the security deposits left by the saints upon their deaths as guarantees of their continuing interest in the earthly community" (202). Relics "brought the special protection of the saint to the community, shielding it from enemies both spiritual and temporal and assuring its prosperity" (191).

As early as the sixth century, rulers assert the power of relics in protecting cities, ensuring military victories, especially over heretics such as Arians, following the Byzantine model. By the eighth century this led to Western rulers purposefully concentrating relics in order to consolidate political power (Bozoky 120, 130). When Charlemagne's contemporary, the Asturian King Alfonso II, established his capital at Oviedo, he wanted to transfer the prestige of the old Visigothic capital in Toledo to his "New Jerusalem" in Asturias. He did so by invoking the legend of St Toribius, who is said to have transported a large chest containing

many relics of Christ and the Virgin Mary, from Jerusalem to Africa for safekeeping when the Persians conquered Jerusalem in 614. According to the legend, the arc was moved again to Toledo when the Muslims conquered Africa and then again to Oviedo in 711 when they reached Spain. John Walsh writes that by linking Jerusalem to Toledo to Oviedo, this legend "combines in one motion the two great Christian causes of the era: the crusades and the reconquest of Muslim Spain" (3). In this way, relics linked eastern crusade with the Latin West just as they once made eastern pilgrimage possible in the West, by bringing physical totems associated with the passion of Christ and of the martyrs within more pragmatic range of the Western Latin faithful. It was far easier for a French pilgrim to travel to St Denis, or a Basque to travel to Santiago de Compostela or Oviedo, than for either to make the journey to Jerusalem.

In the Iberian context of holy war, saints whose relics resided in Christian cities were regularly pressed into service as martial leaders and patrons of military victory. The most important example is of course St James, Santiago, who came to be nicknamed "Matamoros," literally the killer of Muslims, and was said to manifest on the battlefield mounted on a white horse, sword unsheathed.[12] Even the scholarly St Isidore of Seville, best known for his scientific and theological works, became militarized after the translation of his remains from Muslim Seville to Christian Leon in the eleventh century, and took his place in the popular imagination beside Santiago on the battlefield with his sword drawn. As the crusader imaginary sanctified knights, so did it beknight saints.[13]

Conversely, military heroes of Christian campaigns in al-Andalus were sacralized and in some cases canonized for their military achievements against Muslim rulers. After his death, the body of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, known as El Cid, who conquered Valencia, was said to have remained miraculously preserved for years, as was often reported of the bodies of saints.[14] The same was reported of Ferdinand III of Castile-Leon and his wife, whose tomb was opened in 1279 so that their bodies might be translated to their new lavish tomb in Seville. Ferdinand's body was also described as protecting that city from Muslim counterattack. Castilian bishops, in a letter to the pope denying his request to help fund the failing Latin empire of Constantinople, cited the need to attend to the domestic Iberian "crusade." In this letter they mention that Ferdinand's body continued to protect Seville from attacks even after his death.[15] *Zifar*, based on the legend of Saint Eustace, mirrors this conflation of saint and holy warrior that characterized both the hagiography and historiography of the times.

*Zifar*'s performance of Arabic was both a way of participating in the broader literary culture of crusade, and in the Castilian performance

of the intellectual *spolia* of the domestic conquest of al-Andalus. Like many Iberian adaptations of ultrapyreneean literary forms, *Zifar* is distinct from French chivalric romances in its structure and discursive nature, speaking directly to the historical and cultural specificity of the Peninsula. The author claims the book is translated from an Arabic manuscript. Many of the characters have names that appear to be adapted from Arabic words. The work's toponymy draws on medieval Arabic works of geography that were available in Toledo but not elsewhere in western Europe (Harney, "Geography"; "More on the Geography"). It presents itself as a Christian didactic chivalric romance drawing on Arabic sources. In this way it is very much consonant with the literary culture of Castile of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which authors strove to integrate the intellectual legacy of al-Andalus into the cultural life of the court. We can read *Zifar* as an allegory for the Castilian appropriation of Andalusi cultural capital during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as part of the intellectual conquest that came in the wake of the military conquest of al-Andalus.

Zifar is an exemplary knight whose sound wisdom and devotion to the Christian faith makes him a model of someone who faces difficult challenges within a Christian framework. At the same time, we can read Zifar as an allegory for Christian Iberia's project of translating and adapting both Andalusi models of gnomic and exemplary literature and Arthurian chivalric fiction to the more specific project of Christian knighthood in Iberia. Like the Platonic scholar-king ideal that underpinned the Alfonsine project, Zifar models a knighthood that combines Christian chivalric values with the scientific and intellectual capital of al-Andalus. Castilian authors of the fourteenth century such as Don Juan Manuel performed familiarity with Andalusi traditions as a way both to assert their political dominance and to legitimate their texts as belonging to a prestigious intellectual tradition (Wacks, "Reconquest"; *Framing Iberia* 129–56). *Zifar* is not itself a translation. However, *Zifar's* "Arabicizing" features (personal names, toponymns, etc) are, along with the inclusion of prestigious gnomic materials translated from the Arabic, a way for the author to authorize his text, giving it the imprimatur of Arabic science and learning, while also laying claim to the legacy of Andalusi political power in the Iberian Peninsula.

**Andalusi Culture, Translation, and Castilian Literature**

This concentration and dissemination of Andalusi culture, by the turn of the fourteenth century, had already become an integral part of Castilian cultural identity (Menocal, "Empire"; Dodds et al. 5). When the

author writes of the work having been translated from Arabic, it is a trope by which he asserts the work's authority, much the same way in which an author from elsewhere in Western Christendom might employ the found manuscript trope so familiar to us from the medieval romance (and so famously parodied in *Don Quijote*), but with a difference: unlike the *translatio imperii* of the French romances, which seek to connect the courts of medieval kings with the legacy of Imperial Rome, Castilian translation from Arabic is a "modern" reality, a historical process taking place at the time the author is writing. There is no historical distance and so (as in the more famous case of Cervantes' Cidi Hamete Benengeli),[16] the trope of the translation of a found manuscript is not akin to the uncovering of an ancient relic (as when a French author claims to have found a Greek manuscript of the Alexander romance), but rather a novelization of a contemporary cultural problem.

Toledo is well known as a centre of translation, particularly of translations from Arabic. Hispanists tend to focus on the Arabic-to-Latin and Arabic-to-Castilian activity such as the translation work sponsored by Alfonso X, but it was also home to translations from Arabic to Hebrew made by Jewish scholars, particularly in the early thirteenth century. These translations aimed to bring Andalusi learning over into Hebrew for an audience of Jews in Christian Iberia and other Christian kingdoms (James Robinson; Pearce). It was in a sense the model for Alfonso's vernacularization project, much of which was carried out by the children and grandchildren of the generation of Arabic-Hebrew translators.

Alfonso's project, much like the innovations of William IX of Acquitaine (1071–1127, celebrated as the first troubadour) in courtly lyric,[17] was not the product of an individual genius who created a translation movement *ex nihilo*, but rather a phase in a long-standing culture of translation in Iberia and Provence. In the first stage, that of the Arabic-Hebrew translations of the Ibn Tibbon family and others, Hebrew negotiated its way through fields and genres once the sole province of Arabic. This brought secular learning into Hebrew practice (1100–1200). The children of this generation of translators collaborated with Alfonso to duplicate the exercise, this time into Castilian (Wacks, "Don Yllán" 424n53). This means that the Arabic-Hebrew project provided the models and the habits of thought for the Arabic-Castilian project. Alfonso's achievement was not simply the translation of Arabic to Castilian; it was the adaptation of translation methods, and in a broader sense, of ways of thinking about and producing knowledge (Menocal, "Empire").

Roger Walker argues that *Zifar*'s likely composition in Toledo means that the author "had easy access to Arabic material" (14), but he does

not elaborate. Who had access to what Arabic material around 1300? By the mid-thirteenth century Jewish translators had made a large corpus of Arabic works available in Hebrew. Judah al-Harizi, active at the beginning of the thirteenth century, translated a number of Arabic works into Hebrew. He begins his own (Hebrew) book *Tahkemoni* complaining that Jewish scholars are spending too much time studying Arabic and calls for a rededication to Hebrew letters.[18] Jacob ben Elazar, who lived around the same time, likewise laments the sorry state of Hebrew letters in his community and the great enthusiasm that Castilian Jews had for Arabic literature (Ben Elazar 14–15). Jews were not the only Arabists in Toledo at this time. Mozarabic Christians in Toledo, such as Cardinal Gonzalo Gudiel himself, mentor of Ferrant Martínez and subject of *Zifar*'s prologue, counted numbers of Arabic volumes – and perhaps more significantly, numbers of translations from Arabic – in his library. According to Roger Walker, he himself "was active in fostering translations" (16; Millás Vallicrosa 16–17).

*Zifar*'s prologue reflects this Iberian culture of translation in the conceit of the found manuscript translated into Castilian. This trope was of course common in medieval narrative, but has a very different meaning in Castile, whose vernacular literature was born of translation from Arabic. Menocal reminds us that "the whole of the Alfonsine era, including its texts and its ideologies, is best understood in terms of an Arabic tradition converted into a Castilian one" ("Empire" 195). Apart from the vernacular hagiographies and Marian miracle tales of Berceo, the great push to bring Castilian over into the light of vernacular learning was the Alfonsine project, predicated largely on translation from Arabic into Castilian. This is true even in the field of letters, where the Alfonsine *Calila e Dimna* made it possible for Don Juan Manuel to write the *Conde Lucanor* (Menéndez Pelayo 1: 45). *Zifar* is part of this same movement of translations. Whereas Don Juan Manuel experimented with melding Andalusi material with Dominican *exempla* and tales from oral tradition, the author of *Zifar* transforms Arthurian romance into a vehicle for sapiential literature.[19]

Castile owed a good deal of its literary culture to translation, one of a range of cultural practices whose function is to adapt existing materials in a new cultural and political context, to render these materials fungible in a new context. In the case of medieval Castile, as Menocal teaches us, "this mediation is not between two essentially alien cultures, of course, but is instead between already overlapping and entangled peoples" ("Empire" 196). This entanglement is key to understanding the performance of Arabic origins of *Zifar*.

Zifar is a fictional avatar blending both the eastern hagiography and Andalusi/Castilian discourse of crusade. This blending is not accidental, but rather a calculated ambiguity designed to lend the legitimacy and universality of the eastern crusades to the Iberian crusade, to demonstrate perhaps that the *iter per Hispaniam* was just as important as any other path to Jerusalem, and therefore that the Iberian contribution to the crusading effort (taken in the broadest possible sense) was just as valuable as that of the French crusaders in the Levant.

However, before we can address the significance of this found manuscript trope for understanding *Zifar*, the question remains as to whether the author understands the text's original language "caldeo" erroneously as Arabic or, correctly as Syriac. If *caldeo* means Arabic, then the author is situating the work as part of the Andalusi intellectual *spolia*, like a mosque repurposed as a church. If, however, *caldeo* more accurately means Syriac, he is situating it in the hagiographical mode, in the field of the eastern narratives that legitimate the relics brought west by crusaders, in the spirit of Joseph of Arimathea and other such narratives both historical (or quasi-historical) and fantastic: an invocation of the legacy of eastern Christendom now brought under the crusading banner of the Latin West. The author of *Zifar* accomplishes something similar by linking the world of Jesus to that of the chivalric imaginary when he places Zifar's birth in the time of St Bartholomew. To make matters even more complicated, the narrator later asserts that Zifar's son Roboán fathers a child with an enchanted empress whose mother was Queen Guinevere's rival. The adventures of this grandchild of Zifar, named Fortunado (Fortunate), appear (according to the narrator) in an Arabic (*caldeo*) book of his chivalric adventures in his quest to find his father (Roboán, Zifar's son). According to the prologue and narrator, there seem to exist at least two (*Zifar* and *Fortunado*), perhaps a whole cycle of Arthurian, Christian romances in Arabic (*caldeo*)!

The bulk of the evidence comes down on the side of Arabic as *caldeo*'s referent. According to the *Real Academia Española*, the "antiguo" (archaic) meaning of *caldeo* is a practitioner of mathematics or astronomy. Walker explains that *caldeo* was often, in thirteenth-century sources, conflated with Arabic (30). Ángel González Palencia, whose bona fides as a Hispano-Arabist are beyond question, states quite plainly that "Chaldean in the Middle Ages meant 'Arabic.'"[20] Only in a few examples from very scholarly Alfonsine circles do authors (or translators) distinguish between *arabigo* and *caldeo*. A number of contemporary texts refer to their source language as *caldeo* when in fact they are referring to Arabic, and other Castilian and French texts refer to Arabs indiscriminately as

Chaldeans, Saracens, or Arabs.[21] Contemporary geographers located the *caldeos* in the Middle East between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and mention that they invented the science of astrology (or sometimes magic) (Harney, "More on the Geography" 76). A number of Alfonsine texts on astrology, including *Libro de la octava esfera*, *Libro de los judizios de las estrellas*, *Libro de la Azafea, Libro de las laminas de los siete planetas, Tablas de Zarquiel*, and *Tablas alfonsíes* claimed Arabic as their source language (Faulhaber). This connection of *caldeo* with astrology strengthens the argument that it was understood by medieval Castilians as "Arabic" or at least not clearly distinguished from Arabic. We can then safely assume that for the author of *Zifar* it means the former, given that Arabic was a common source language of translations into Latin, Hebrew, and Castilian in thirteenth-century Toledo.

What, then, is the meaning of this representation of translation? With the exception of Walker, critics agree that *Zifar* was composed in Castilian. Though the story is, in its most general contours, based on the widely circulated tale of St Eustacius,[22] it is highly unlikely if not impossible that the text was translated from Arabic. Martín de Riquer argues that the author follows the conceit, common to the French chivalric romance, and more famously later parodied in Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, of the found manuscript (*Zifar* 334–5).

Given the historical legacy of translation from the Arabic as part of a royal program of technology transfer, the trope of the found MS in *Zifar* has an Iberian twist. In Italy or France a manuscript translated from Arabic or Syriac (*caldeo*) is a performance of arcana, of the rarity and mysterious origins of the story to be told. Medieval romances commonly represented themselves as translations or adaptations of books of ancient lore from the East, the re-discovery of wisdom from long ago and far away (Fuchs, *Romance* 50–2). It evokes the translation work of the lone monk in a remote monastery in the British Isles, who by chance comes into possession of a manuscript written in Greek or Syriac (Chaldean).

Translation from Arabic in thirteenth-century Castile means something very different from translation from Greek in twelfth-century France. Arabic is not exactly a mysterious language at court. Alfonso X established a school of Arabic studies in Seville in the late thirteenth century (Márquez Villanueva 158), and the same Cardinal Gonzalo Gudiel who protagonizes *Zifar*'s prologue had not only a number of works translated from Arabic in his library, but also a handful of volumes written in Arabic. What's more, as it turns out, Gudiel came from a prominent family of Toledan Mozarabs (*mozárabes*), a community that still employed Classical Arabic in its legal

documentation well into the fourteenth century (Beale-Rivaya 41). Walker attributes this familiarity to the multiconfessional scholarly tradition of the city: "The number of clearly Semitic elements in the *Zifar* certainly indicates that the author had easy access to Arabic material, either in the original or in translation. Nowhere would such access be better than in Toledo" (14). So once again, the question of Arabic in Castile is complicated, and we cannot take at face value the author's deployment of the "found and translated" trope without considering the specificity of the Arabic intellectual legacy of Castile and its socio-political context.[23]

If the work is not a translation from Arabic, why does the author use so many proper nouns and place names that appear to have been adapted from or invented in imitation of Arabic? Roger Walker's notion that many of these names have a "clearly Semitic ring" (33n29) or Ángel González Palencia's suggestive Arabic etymologies for the character names in *Zifar* are (at least for James Burke) attempts to authenticate the Arabic origins of the work.[24] The "clearly Semitic" setting belies a far more complicated combination of symbolic programs. There are a number of referents in play for "the Semitic" in *Zifar*. Teasing them out can help us to better understand the relationship of the prologue to the rest of the work, and of both to their historical and cultural context in early fourteenth-century Castile.

### *Zifar* and *Ziyad*: "Our [Arthurian] goods returned to us"

The tenth-century Andalusi author Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi[25] compiled an influential compendium of courtly literature called *al-'Iqd al-farid* (*The Unique Necklace*). Seeking renown, he consciously modelled his work on the prestigious literature of the Abbasid court in the Islamicate East. Once he had made his reputation in al-Andalus, he travelled to the Buwayhid court at Rey (in what is now modern Iran), where the vizier Sahib Ibn 'Abbad himself received him. According to tradition, Ibn 'Abbad, who was familiar with Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *Unique Necklace*, declared to the Andalusi: "*hathihi rida'atuna ruddat ilayna*," or "these are our goods, returned to us" (England 77; Makki 287). The vizier made an important point, one that applies directly to our study of *Zifar.* In our zeal to imitate prestigious models, we may very well end up buying back our own goods in a different wrapper.

How do these returned goods relate to the question of Castilian appropriation of Andalusi learning in *Zifar*? We have seen that the author of *Zifar* purposefully performed the translation of *Zifar* from Arabic, and borrowed from works of Arabic geography to flesh out the

work's setting. As it turns out, the author of *Zifar* also borrowed narrative motifs found in Andalusi tales of knights and ladies.

We have seen in the previous chapter that cultural transmission can go in both directions: just as Castilians were great consumers of Andalusi material and intellectual culture, so too were the Andalusis of Granada consumers of the courtly culture of Castile. The example of the Arthurian motifs and themes found in *Ziyad ibn 'Amir* was one such example. Here we come full circle. Among the intellectual *spolia* of al-Andalus we find in *Zifar*, right next to the Arabic geography and performance of translation, bits of Arthuriana that appear to have come to *Zifar* not from translations of French Arthurian romances, but rather from the pages (or the telling) of the adventures of Ziyad himself. In short, some of the Arthurian goods "bought" by the Andalusi elite may have been returned to Castile from Granada. *Zifar* includes a number of narrative motifs that do not appear in prior Castilian works, but *do* appear in *Ziyad*, suggesting – though not proving definitively – that Zifar's author might have borrowed them from *Ziyad*.

In any event, the gesture of conquest and conversion of the other (person, artistic movement, technology, or text), is always more complex than a binary "us vs. them." In this case, it appears that, much as in the case of the Alhambra that was the prized and iconic monument of the Christian conquest of Granada, is "our own goods returned to us," or rather, the old made new again. Like the Arthurian paintings in Alhambra's Hall of Justice, the Arthurian motifs in *Ziyad* that find their way into *Zifar* complicate facile notions of what is "ours" and what is "theirs."

There are a number of coincidences between *Ziyad* and *Zifar*. Most of them are on the level of narrative motif. Two episodes in particular are present in both texts but absent from popular Arabic literature in general: those of the supernatural wife who bears the hero a son, and of the underwater realm. These motifs are united in the Arthurian "Lady of the Lake," and here they find expression in *Zifar* in the episode of The Bold Knight (*el Caballero Atrevido*) (González, *Libro* 241–51; C.L. Nelson 138–46).

In this episode, a knight hears of the events surrounding the death of Zifar's enemy, Count Nasón, who is burned as a traitor and whose ashes are thrown into a lake. After hearing the story of Nasón's demise, the knight travels to the lake to see with his own eyes the scene of the powerful count's downfall. There he finds the Lady of the Lake, who takes the Bold Knight into her hidden realm beneath the water. He fathers a child by the Lady, who (as are all living creatures in the underwater realm) is born after a short week of gestation and grows to young

adulthood in an additional week. After the Bold Knight fails a series of character tests set him by the Lady, she then reveals herself as the devil she truly is. The Bold Knight and his son are borne upon a whirlwind, expelled from the realm, and dropped back into their camp on the lake-shore, where they suffer a two-day-long earthquake, the result of a spell cast by the enraged Lady/Devil of the Lake.

The unrelated episode of the Fortunate Islands (*Yslas Dotadas*) in *Zifar* likewise bears earmarks of motifs familiar from Arthurian legend. In it, Zifar's son Roboán is exiled to the Fortunate Islands by the emperor, where he eventually marries the empress and he himself becomes emperor. The Arthurian legacy is quite clear: Roboán is taken to the Islands on a magic boat that has no oars but moves by enchantment,[26] and his love interest is the daughter of a woman whose beauty was once compared favourably to that of Queen Guinevere herself (who took offence).[27] Roboán fathers a son by the empress shortly before leaving her realm (as in the episode of the Bold Knight).[28]

There is a good amount of speculation among *Zifar* critics as to the sources of these motifs, ranging from Oriental to Celtic to Hispanic. Whatever their source(s), Cristina González concludes that these are motifs that are too general and widespread in world folklore to belong to a single origin (*Zifar* 103). What we *can* say, she suggests, is that they are the only fantastic episodes in what is otherwise a more or less realistic (at least by medieval standards) fictional world. What's more, the fantastic episodes of the *Caballero Atrevido* and the *Yslas Dotadas* serve an ancillary function in moving the narrative forward. González postulates that they are subplots that serve as initiations for the protagonists who would then go on to be kings in their own right (*Reino lejano* 119–20). She gives a number of other such examples of fantastic initiations of heroes of medieval novels, episodes that have their origins in ancient folkloric initiation narratives.[29]

Despite González's warning not to turn off the lights so that all the cats appear brown,[30] it certainly is curious that the same two motifs, the only fantastic motifs in all of *Zifar*, whose source is contested by critics and still an open question, should appear in an Arabic manuscript from the same region written some seventy years prior to the composition of *Zifar*.[31] Depending on how we read this evidence, it could lend credence to a number of different theories about *Zifar*. On the one hand, if we believe the motifs are Celtic in origin, we should suppose their transmission to *Zifar* through Arthurian tradition to *Ziyad* and thence to *Zifar*. This would ironically corroborate both the argument that *Zifar* relied on Arabic sources, and the argument for the Arthurian-Celtic sources of the fantastic episodes in *Zifar*.

Whatever their source, the series of romantic liaisons and marriages between Ziyad and his numerous wives is not unique to *Ziyad*. Heroes of both Arabic and Romance narrative, from Antar to Zifar have multiple romantic or sexual partners, while holding one lady above all. It is typical for heroes of romances and chivalric novels from various traditions, married or bachelor, to have multiple dalliances with different ladies whom they encounter in their adventures. Perhaps this is a result of (male) fantasy meant to titillate audiences and keep their interest, or perhaps it is a deep archetype with roots in fertility cults of Celtic Europe and the Mediterranean world. In most cases there is no attempt to bring this serial polyamory in line with the moral standards of the day. This was a sticking point for critics of *Zifar*, who were hard pressed to explain away Zifar's adulterous couplings outside of his marriage to Grima. Some concluded that it was a product of the work's origins in an Arabic text that reflected Islamic polygamy.[32] While I recently argued that such a theory was probably untenable (Wacks, "Translation"), the evidence of Ziyad's polygamy sheds new light on the question. Ziyad does indeed marry a series of lovers in his adventures, in a political empire-building gesture that seems to legitimate the extra-marital serial polyamory of some chivalric heroes. If we can suppose that *Ziyad* circulated in the Peninsula (even orally), it is possible that Zifar's polygamy is an imitation or adaptation of Ziyad's.

**The Mozarabic Legacy**

Up until now we have seen how *Zifar* performs the symbolic work of assimilating Andalusi intellectual *spolia* to a program of Christian crusade and conquest of al-Andalus, against the larger backdrop of Western Latin crusade in the East. There is one further aspect of the cultural milieu of *Zifar* that complicates the value of "Arabic" learning and the status of "Andalusi" culture vis-à-vis Castilian crusader discourse.

The work's putative author, Ferrant Martínez, was a member of the elite of the Church of Toledo. These were Christians who proudly traced their lineage not to the Castilian conquerors who vanquished King al-Mu'min in 1085, but to the Mozarabs (from Arabic *musta'rib* or "Arabizing") Christians who had lived in Toledo since before the Visigothic invasions of the fifth century. In their eyes, they were the blue bloods, and the Castilians were the *arrivistes*. These Mozarabs of Toledo were mostly culturally assimilated to the Castilian mainstream by the mid-thirteenth century. They practised the Roman (and no longer the Mozarabic) rite, and were Castilian speakers. However, they continued to use Arabic as a notarial language through the end of the thirteenth

century, and Arabic was very much a part of their cultural history and group identity.[33]

Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Mozarabic elite of the Church of Toledo struggled to retain control of the bishopric of Toledo. They were often subordinated to bishops from places like France and Italy sent to Toledo by the pope (with the consent of the king) (Rivera Recio, *Arzobispos* 13–25). The French order of Cluniac monks, very influential in Castile, represented an additional threat to Mozarabic power in the region.[34] The Mozarabic legacy was under siege (Rivera Recio, *Iglesia* 208). If we accept that Ferrant Martínez was the author of *Zifar*, we can also read the quasi-Arabicized knight protagonist as an allegorization of Mozarabic identity. Zifar undertakes his quest to restore his family's lost honour; Martínez undertakes his to restore the body of Cardinal Gudiel to Toledo. In a sense, Martínez is also seeking to restore the honour of the Mozarabic legacy of the Church of Toledo in the face of nearly two centuries of cultural and organizational domination by France and Rome. Martínez's quest in the East of the West (Rome), like *Zifar*'s quest in the East, was a way to reassert the prestige of Toledo's Mozarabic legacy, and at the same time perform the Christian domination of al-Andalus in ways that link it to the larger project of eastern crusade, and link local Iberian literary production with the Arthurian tradition that served as crusade's ideological and symbolic support system.

In conclusion, we can read in *Zifar* a microcosm of cultural and political processes that obtained in Castile-Leon at the turn of the fourteenth century. The work of the prologue is to bring together under a single rubric the traffic in relics and traffic in Andalusi learning. The concept of symbolic capital is useful in establishing a common framework to unite these two forms of traffic. In the work, the eastern setting and para-hagiographic features blur the lines between hagiography, crusade narrative, and chivalric romance. The performance of Arabic learning expressed in the quasi-Arabic personal names and toponyms, together with its use of Andalusi geographical and narrative sources (most notably the "returned Arthurian goods" from "Ziyad ibn 'Amir") signal the prestige of Andalusi learning and Castile's political domination of al-Andalus, while at the same time asserting the cultural prestige of the Mozarab elites of the Church of Toledo. In *Zifar*, the literary representation of the traffic in relics and in translations are symbolic tools for the construction of a uniquely Castilian intellectual and political identity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one predicated on crusade and conquest of al-Andalus, and the concomitant assimilation of its resources, human and material, to the broader crusading culture of Latin Christendom.

# 3 Iberian Missionary Crusade in Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna*

The tale of Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani reflects the influence of crusader-inspired fiction beyond Christian-dominant societies. *Zifar* novelizes a Christian Iberian crusading ideal in a fictionalized eastern setting that serves as a backdrop. Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna*, written only a few years before *Zifar*, is the result of changes within the crusading movement itself, and is a model for how accepted literary forms and popular images change with the times within Christian society. In *Blaquerna*, Llull lays out his plan for universal missionary crusade in a novel patterned after the chivalric novel in which he advocates for an ambitious, military-backed program of forensic crusade that would bring all of Islam, and the pagan nations as well, into the church.[1]

By the end of the thirteenth century it had become clear that the crusades as they had been imagined since the end of the eleventh century were not going to result in a Christian Jerusalem. Louis IX's failed campaigns to Egypt and Tunis were from the start a compromise that had more to do with demonstrating piety and securing trade routes than actually winning Jerusalem. This did not mean an end to the discourse of crusade, for proposals of various stripe continued to circulate through the fourteenth century, but the tone was certainly changing. Crusade had become an important institution in Western Christendom whose utility went far beyond the romantic goal of a Christian Jerusalem. Correspondingly, while the *idea* and *image* of an eastern crusade persisted in art and literature, it was no longer a military or political goal taken seriously at the highest levels. However, the relative success of the Christian conquest of al-Andalus had an important impact on the crusader imaginary of the thirteenth century. Spanish military orders (and to a lesser extent, crusading orders from outside the Peninsula such as the Templars and the Hospitallers) had on the balance far greater military successes on the Iberian Peninsula than they did in the East.

This was certainly the case for the Iberian military orders, whose participation in the conquests laid the foundation for the Iberian Christian political order, and whose participation in these conquests secured them a prominent place in the Spanish social order that persists to this day.

What was this Iberian contribution to the crusader imaginary? How did the Iberian experience transform the idea of crusading from its beginnings in France? The conquest of al-Andalus resulted in Christian kings ruling over substantial Muslim and Jewish minorities, creating massive captive markets for the missionary work of the Dominican and Franciscan orders who had, over the course of the thirteenth century, become increasingly important players on the spiritual and religious stage of Christian Iberia. Once the sword had done its work, it was time for the cross to take over. It was this social reality of massive missionary ambition that produced a new strain in crusading fiction on the Peninsula: missionary crusade, a crusading ideal whose goal was not only to conquer, but to convert as well.

Ramon Llull was born in Majorca, and after what Anthony Bonner describes as a "dissolute, typically aristocratic upbringing" (1) he had a vision of the crucified Christ that led him on a completely different path of learning and piety that would result in a prolific literary career and make him one of the most eminent intellects of his time. Llull spent decades developing a totalizing theosophical system, the *Ars magna*, whose ultimate end was to unite humanity under Catholicism. He authored dozens of works in Catalan, Latin, and Arabic (though his proficiency in the last two are a matter of debate) and dedicated his life to the conversion of Iberian and north African Jews and Muslims. All of his works point ultimately toward this end, and *Blaquerna* is a fictional laboratory for many of his ideas about crusade and conversion.[2] Majorca at the time of his youth was by all accounts a colonial environment where the considerable Muslim population (perhaps one third of the total population of the island) lived under harsh colonial conditions. Llull's experience as part of a colonial majority no doubt influenced his views on Islam and Muslims.[3]

Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna* is a kind of chivalric novel remade in a spiritual, missionary key. It substitutes spiritual and theological values for chivalric and courtly ones. The hero excels in faith, devotion, and works. His swordsmanship is lacking. He defeats enemies by preaching to them (something that *Zifar* also does, though he also happens to be deadly with the lance). His goal is to convert the entire world to Christianity, to lead by example, and to draw the infidel to Christianity through reason, debate, and logic. Blaquerna's crusade comes not only with a sword, but also with an argument.

We can think of *Blaquerna* as the fictional component of Llull's grand ideological and intellectual program of crusade and mission. Each of his works makes a different contribution to the cause. Llull's *Ars magna* is the engine of conversion, the science that has the potential to unlock the minds and therefore the hearts of the unbelievers. The *Liber de fine* and other crusader treatises are meant to mobilize political will and resources among the church, the nobility, and the crown. The *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria* is a training manual for the knights entrusted with enforcing Christian rule and setting the stage for the missionary to move in and close the deal. But the *matador* in this bullfight is the philosopher-preacher, who armed with Llull's *Ars*,[4] accomplishes with logic and polemic in this new era of missionary crusade what the Templar and the Knight of St James once accomplished with the sword: the conquest of the soul.

Fiction is a laboratory of ideas for creating a prototype of a reality we would like to see become real.[5] It presents a vision of what might have been, what might be, what could be. While treatises and sermons theorize, propose, and exhort, fiction shows us a world where these various suggestions are true. As such, it is, as Richard Walsh argues, a rhetorical mode rather than a genre.[6] It makes arguments by induction, not deduction. *Blaquerna*, then, is meant to show us a world where Llull's ideas on mission, on knighthood, and on crusade all converge and come to life. More than a simple call to action or a road map for success, *Blaquerna* is a virtual dress rehearsal for Llull's world vision of a medieval *pax christiana*, a universal Christianity achieved through rational argumentation, but backed with military force.

## Crusade in the Time of Llull

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the disastrous failures of the two crusades of King Louis IX to Egypt and Tunis had proven the futility of large-scale campaigns since the Second Crusade. Though Louis made his crusades the cornerstone of his image as a pious sovereign,[7] they were far more effective at promoting his image as a martyr (he died during his second campaign in Tunis) and his rapid canonization than advancing actual military conquest under the cross.[8] In fact, the final failures of Louis IX forced a reassessment of the role of crusading in the geopolitics of Latin Christendom. These disappointments were mitigated by the continued success of Christian conquest of al-Andalus, which Christian sources also framed in terms of crusade (Bird et al. 130).

One reaction was to shift crusading leadership from the crown and nobility to the pope, thus further blurring the distinctions between

spiritual and temporal power, but also facilitating the economics of crusade. If tax advantages and other benefits for crusaders were dependent on the policies emanating from the Vatican, it was a logical step to eliminate the middleman and place the responsibility for administering the crusading project in the hands of Rome. The second structural reaction was to commodify the burden of crusade by allowing lesser nobility to buy their way out of taking the cross personally.[9] This served a double purpose: because many petty nobles were not sufficiently skilled in mounted combat and/or did not have sufficient resources to self-finance their participation in a crusade, they were able to pay an equivalency that the church could then use to subsidize the participation of more formidable, experienced, and better-equipped knights. These "crusade bonds" provided flexibility in funding and organizing the more surgical, strategic type of crusading campaign that characterized the movement in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when Llull was active.

**Conversion and Crusade in Llull's Time**

Conversion of the infidel was not an important feature of the crusading project until the thirteenth century. From Urban's sermons preaching the First Crusade up until the middle of the twelfth century there are no voices calling for the conversion of Muslims and Jews, but rather for their annihilation, banishment, or at best, exploitation as subject minorities.[10] This may be simply because the societies where the crusader movement emerged had no significant experience missionizing subject Jews and Muslims. However, as Christian kingdoms conquered more and more of the formerly Andalusi territories of the Iberian Peninsula, this situation began to change.

We see this change reflected in the words of Iberian kings and popes. By the middle of the twelfth century, the military orders were seen as agents of conversion. Berenguer IV of Barcelona (r. 1131–62) charged the Hospitallers with propagating (*propaganda*) Christianity. In 1171 Ferdinand II of Leon charged the Order of Santiago with "extending" (*dilatanda*) the faith, and Peter II of Aragon in 1208 announced that the Templars were involved in its propagation (*propagationi*) as well as its defence. Pope Gregory IX used similar language in addressing the Order of Calatrava in 1231 (Forey, "Military Orders" 2). By the time of Louis IX the idea that crusaders were the military vanguard of mission was well documented.

This rise of the mendicant orders, with their focus on missionary work, fuelled the increasing (though still relatively marginal) proselytic tendency in crusading during the thirteenth century. The missionary

bent of the mendicant orders was prefigured in part by Joachim of Fiore, who supported crusade as a military effort but, as Benjamin Kedar writes, "expected that spiritual action would once and for all eliminate the Saracen danger the crusade had only temporarily checked" (*Crusade* 116). Both the secular cleric Jacques de Vitry and the mendicant Francis of Assisi were instrumental in combining the discourse of mission with the project of crusade. There was, of course, some tension between mission and martyrdom in this combination, and it was up to the individual crusader to decide which concept would guide his action (Kedar, *Crusade* 125). In his writings (and in his earlier *vitae*) it seems Francis combined a regard for military crusade with a desire to preach and convert the Saracen (Kedar, *Crusade* 130–1). The rule approved by the Franciscan order in 1221, for example, featured mission to the infidel as an important part of communal life (Tolan, *Saint Francis* 7). While it is not clear to what extent Francis meant for this activity to result in the actual conversion of Muslims and Jews, it is clear that he saw mission to the infidel as a useful performance of piety and a selfless willingness to suffer martyrdom (Higuera Rubio 178). His own mission to the Mamluk Sultan al-Kamil was doomed to failure, but nonetheless was a watershed moment in determining the future role of mission to the infidel for the Franciscans in Europe and especially in the East (Claster 227).

Ultimately, however, it was the Christian conquest of al-Andalus and resulting laboratory of missionizing local Muslims – and not dramatics such as Francis's mission to al-Kamil – that fuelled the idea of converting the Muslims of the East among Franciscans (Kedar, *Crusade* 136–40). By the middle of the thirteenth century it became clear that missionizing Muslims was far more effective under stable Christian rule than in tenuous and shrinking crusader kingdoms, and both Dominicans and Franciscans agreed to focus their efforts inside the boundaries of Christendom, especially in Iberia (Kedar, *Crusade* 154–7).

Christian Iberian clerics developed sophisticated theories of and programs for the conversion of subject Jews and Muslims. The rise of the mendicant orders, with their focus on missionary activity, facilitated this trend.[11] Their increasing influence in crusading efforts reinforced the perceived success of Iberian proselytizing and conversion of Muslims and Jews. By the time of Louis IX, crusading includes converting the Saracens, and the French king is compared favourably (and anachronistically) to Charlemagne as a pious ruler whose crusading activity is divided between military conquest and effective proselytizing (Gaposchkin, *Saint Louis* 40–1). This combination of military force and missionary work forms a new missionary crusading ethic that Llull theorizes in his crusading writings and novelizes in *Blaquerna*.

But what did Llull himself have to say about crusade and conversion? In his earlier writings, he advocated conversion of Jews and Muslims through reason and debate rather than by force. His entire intellectual project, the *Ars magna*, was predicated on this idea. Eventually, however, Lull modified his views and began to see crusade as a necessary precondition to missionary work. In a series of works written at the turn of the fourteenth century, writes Gabriel Ensenyat Pujol, Llull "sets out concrete strategic plans to carry out a large-scale offensive against Islam."[12]

In the *Liber de fine* (Montpellier, 1305) Llull proposed that the pope appoint a cardinal to lead the crusade effort and to oversee a new unified military order under the leadership of a nobleman chosen by the pope and serving as "warrior king." Any king or noble opposing this hierarchy would face excommunication. He advocated for a multi-front campaign including bases in Constantinople, Alexandria, Cypress, Tunis, and Andalusia (Llull, *Opera Latina* 9: 276–7), thus combining the *iter per Hispaniam* with the northern route through eastern Europe and the Balkans and putting both on an equal footing strategically. He recommended that the friars accompanying the crusaders be members of the unified order, proficient in Arabic and other barbaric languages (*linguam arabicam et alias barbaras*) (Llull, *Opera Latina* 9: 283), and serve the warrior king as secretaries and advisors. His plan in *Liber de fine* also provides detailed military strategy, from leadership hierarchy down to specifics on arms, equipment, and logistics.[13]

However, Llull's vision of crusade was not that of the earlier crusades, to kill or expel Muslims from the Holy Land. Rather, for him the eastern crusade was, as his experience in Majorca demonstrated, a great opportunity to create a massive captive audience for more expedient Christian missionizing. The infidel simply would not listen to Christian reason without the threat of violence. Llull learned this through personal experience and observation. In 1299 he secured permission from Jaume II to preach Christianity to Aragon's Jewish and Muslim communities (Hames 18). Jews and Muslims were required to attend his sermons and those of his supporters, and were encouraged to participate in debates following the sermons. Llull reports that Jews and Muslims would not participate in these debates unless it were required.[14] This is hardly a surprise. While Jaume I guaranteed Nahmanides total indemnity for his views at the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, including any perceived criticism of Christianity,[15] Jews and Muslims engaging in mandatory polemics with Llull and his team were afforded no such protections. Even if Llull's intentions were good (to the extent that forcing someone to defend their religious beliefs can be considered "good"), one can understand their hesitation. Debating against Christianity in

a "crusader kingdom"[16] such as Aragon in the thirteenth century was a losing proposition at best. Llull's compromise with crusading was motivated by his desire to save the world, and if the sword were a necessary part of that project, he was willing to accommodate that reality.[17] *Blaquerna* is the novel of ideas for his theories of missionizing and conversion. In it he anticipates in fictional form the ideas he would later put forth in his crusader writings such as *Liber de fine*.

In *Blaquerna*, Llull turns the conventions of the chivalric romance and the values of the crusading orders on their heads. Instead of a knight with a vaguely spiritual vocation, Blaquerna is a religious whose vocation takes the shape of a member of a crusading chivalric order. He populates his narrative of apostolic and missionary heroism with the topoi of the chivalric romance in order to realize – in his fictional world – his updated crusader ideal in which the sword takes back seat to interreligious dialogue.[18]

Why was Llull able to make such innovative use of existing genres? The answer lies perhaps in his education. Llull was not educated in the church, but rather was a self-taught layperson, whose Latin came not from a cathedral school or university, but from private tutors. In fact, his level of Latinity is a matter of debate, as some believe his Latin works were edited and/or translated by others (Johnston, *Evangelical* 6). It may well be his unorthodox education, the product of lay wealth and not church intellectual establishment, that made possible his particular brand of literary creativity, much in the same way as Don Juan Manuel's vernacular and lay education lead him to make important innovations in Castilian prose narrative in the generation following Llull.[19] Like the works of Don Juan Manuel, Llull's *Blaquerna* was informed largely by secular sources: it is much more a chivalric novel than anything else, and though it contains a good deal of spiritual discourse, one does not need a background in formal theology in order to understand (and ostensibly, enjoy) it. In this sense it is a vernacular work. Harvey Hames has suggested that Llull cultivated the vernacular as a literary language for many of his works because Catalan was a language shared by Aragon's Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Francisco Márquez-Villanueva made a similar argument about Alfonso X. In all three cases, however (Alfonso X, Don Juan Manuel, and Llull's *Blaquerna*), what is true is that the core audience is not clerical. Knights, not priests, needed to be convinced that knighthood and military conquest should be imbued with spiritual values and with a missionary purpose, and if one wanted to reach knights, Latin was not a good choice. The language of chivalry was not Latin; it was the vernacular, and above all the vernacular of chivalric genres: the *gestes* of the twelfth century and the romances of the thirteenth.

The chivalric ideal as encoded in medieval romances and treatises of chivalry of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries emphasized the Christianization and spiritualization of a military ethic. This is a literary reflection of the church reforms of the eleventh century meant to steer Latin Christians on the correct path, with a focus on the personal relationship between the Christian and God. We should remember that the crusading movement was an outgrowth of the eleventh-century church reforms that sought to re-centre the lives of the faithful on spiritual matters. For the knights this naturally meant giving war a spiritual dimension, but as Maurice Keen points out, the real innovation of crusade was not simply to give spiritual meaning to the office of the warrior, but to give the church the authority to direct military force (50).

This current of spiritual reform was soon placed into the service of the crusades, a project formulated largely by French churchmen and high-ranking nobles to provide a higher mission for knights, who had a reputation for infighting, engaging in minor territorial disputes, and abusing the peasantry. Preachers of crusade imagined a new knight who was spiritually and morally correct, and whose destructive impulses were sublimated into a grand military project that bore a spiritual reward in the afterlife (and that in practice *could* make one rich in this life but usually did not). This knight was a sort of para-religious who took orders, wore the cross, and vowed to uphold the ideals of the church with his sword. This imaginary knight became the hero of scores of *gestes* and later romances of chivalry written during the crusading period (roughly 1100–1300), the knight itinerant who travelled far and wide, seeking wrongs to right.

Llull's work gives this paradigm an ecclesiastic turn, re-inserting the chivalric ideal into a religious context. While the crusader is a knight who frames his actions in religious terms, Llull's Blaquerna is a religious who frames his actions in chivalric terms. According to Lina Cofresi,

> as a Christian hero Blaquerna wages moral battles, not physical ones. The jousts of the ancient knights become encounters of words and ideas. The monsters and giants are transformed into sin and disobedience. The hero's invincible weapon is not a magical sword but an unwavering faith in God. Therefore, to a public accustomed to heroics, Blaquerna is a familiar figure, although acting in a different and loftier context. (224)

The inflection point of knightly ideology where Llull aims to root his inward mission (of Christian knighthood) is the institution of chivalry itself, the knightly ideal.

The institution of chivalry was, by the end of the twelfth century, besieged on all sides; by the bourgeois, whose wealth and power threatened the standing of the nobility, by the princes, who surrounded themselves with professional mercenaries and allied with municipal armed forces (Aguilar i Montero 10), and by the church, who thought the knights had become too worldly. The loss of holdings in the Holy Land in the second half of the thirteenth century threw the *milites* into further crisis. The church happily offered the military orders an ideology that would help to define them and stave off the seemingly inevitable tides of change. The failures of the various crusades of the thirteenth century, and the slowing of the conquest of the remainder of al-Andalus added to the sense of stagnation and perhaps moved Llull to revitalize the institution of knighthood (Fallows, Introduction 2).

Manuel Sanchis Guarner argues that Llull's vision for chivalry is a response to Majorca's entry to Western Latin Christendom during late feudalism, in which the "anarchy of the barons" (*anarquia dels barons*) gives rise to stronger principalities and bourgeois cities (38), a situation demanding a new kind of knighthood. The integrity of the order depended on the nobility of its knights, not because nobles were inherently better at knighthood, but because their financial independence ensured their disinterest and adherence to the ideals of chivalry over (other) political and/or economic interests. This is why, as Sanchis Guarner points out, Llull envisioned knighthood as a "rigorously aristocratic" (*rigorosament aristocràtic*) institution (47). This emphasis on the noble aspect of knighthood is a reaction to the changing socio-economic landscape of Llull's time. The twelfth century saw significant growth in urban centres. The concentration of wealth in the cities created a powerful bourgeoisie that eventually began to enter the knighthood, challenging the nobility's traditional monopoly on the institution. At the same time, during the thirteenth century, the church attempted to reclaim ideological control of the institution of knighthood by inserting religious language and the role of the clergy into the dubbing ceremony of new knights (Soler i Llopart 35–40).

Llull's book on chivalry is propaganda meant to bolster the position of the nobility at court at a time when monarchs were increasingly opting to appoint clerks and Jews to high-level positions traditionally occupied by the upper nobility. Because the knight was independently wealthy, he was not (in theory) motivated by career advancement outside of the structures of chivalry, which had at its core the seven heavenly virtues. By contrast, the clerks and Jews who were increasingly occupying positions at court were fully dependent on the largesse of the Crown and as such were less likely to act on doctrinal Christian

(rather than political or mercantile) values. Therefore, Llull's book is a plan to keep government Christian, one that draws heavily on the example set by Louis IX (Higuera Rubio 167–79).

In the opening paragraph, Llull paints for the reader a humanity fallen into error, and sounds a prophetic call to arms: "There was error and confusion among the people of God, who were created so that God be loved, known, honoured, served and feared by man."[20] *Blaquerna* is clearly, thus, a novel of ideas responding to what Llull perceived as a crisis in the institution of chivalry. In it, he operationalizes much of his theory of chivalry formulated in the *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria*. He does so through analogy, de-metaphorizing the idea of the knight as a monk-at-arms by substituting spiritual values for military ones and disputation for armed combat. If chivalric romance is about arms in service to love, and Christian chivalry is about arms in service to love of God, Blaquerna's chivalry is about philosophy in the service of the Virgin. He is playing much the same game, though on the other side of the table, that Christian poets play in deploying devotional tropes in a profane context.[21]

Llull expounds this vision of the spiritual role of the knight in his *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria*, in which he describes the knight as a kind of armed religious, a fitting ideology for the crusading age.[22] Following the doctrine of crusader as pilgrim that goes back at least to the sermons of Urban II preaching the first crusade, the crusader knights, "cross the sea to the Holy Land on pilgrimage and take up arms against the enemies of the Cross."[23] Just as the clergy upholds the faith with words, so does the knight with the sword. Crusading is a defensive war against "the Infidels who contrive every day to destroy the holy church."[24] Here the sword (itself conveniently shaped like a cross) substitutes the cleric's cross as instrument of Christ's will on earth: "Just as our Lord Jesus Christ vanquished on the cross the death into which we had fallen because of the sin of our father Adam, so the knight must vanquish and destroy the enemies of the Cross with the sword."[25]

Obedience to the rule of chivalry is, according to Llull, a prerequisite for knighthood itself. The hermit protagonist, a sort of literary avatar for Llull himself, argues that there can be no true knighthood without obedience to the laws of the order. It amounts to a complete subordination of knighthood to ecclesiastical oversight. The institution, moreover, is one forged by the exigencies of crusade.[26] The orders were formed for crusade and (at least in this vision) come to define knighthood, and in a broader sense, the masculine ideal of the society:

> "How can you not know, son," said the knight, "what the Rule and the Order of Chivalry is? And how can you seek knighthood if you do not

> know what the Order of Chivalry is? For no knight can uphold the Order who does not know this, nor can he love his Order and all that pertains to it, or understand how to tell when an offence is committed against it if he does not know what the Order of Chivalry is."[27]

Llull's vision of knighthood draws it as an institution closer to the ideals of the crusading orders. Knighthood as an institution existed long before the origins of the crusading orders; neither was membership in a crusading order a prerequisite for knighthood. However, Llull's vision of knighthood is one in which every knight is a member of a military order, and in which the institution of knighthood and membership in a military order are indistinguishable. His real-life proposal of unifying the military orders into a single one in service to the Virgin is only one plank in this platform for reforming knighthood, joined here by his vision of a universal order and put into fictional practice in *Blaquerna*, as we will see below.

**Blaquerna as Friar Errant**

In the fictional world *Blaquerna* inhabits, the structures of knighthood imagined by authors of *gestes* and romances give shape to Llull's vision of a knightly ideal. Just as the literature of knighthood produced during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries reflected and amplified the values of the crusading imaginary of the French nobility who participated (actively or passively) in the first crusades, *Blaquerna* transforms this ideal under the twin influences of thirteenth-century crusading and of Llull's specific vision of the role of the crusader knight after the fall of Jerusalem.

The figure of the knight errant in the chivalric fiction of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries took inspiration in the reality of young knights, especially non-primogenitors, who sought status and fortune away from their ancestral lands. In the age of crusade this ideal fused with that of the knight who voluntarily took the cross, and travelled abroad not for personal advancement, but (ideally) for the greater glory of the church and Christianity. In *Blaquerna*, this fictional representation of military migration takes a clerical bent. While the knight voluntarily leaves court and his beloved to wander abroad and find his fortune through acts of chivalry, Blaquerna and his wife Natana separate in order to find individual spiritual perfection. The clerical ideal of chastity made its way into chivalric discourse at certain key moments; the chaste Galahad and Perceval alone were pure enough to pursue the Grail.[28] Llull here projects it back onto his spiritual heroes

in their chivalrified world. The happy reunion at the end that characterizes the Byzantine novel (if not always in the chivalric romance) is substituted here for happy separation as each spouse finds fulfilment in a heremitic lifestyle.[29]

Romance as a genre is about the subordination of arms to a love ideal (Segre 35; Fuchs, *Romance* 42). In *Blaquerna* Llull gives this model a turn. The novel is not about arms in service to (carnal) love, but rather arms (such as he envisions them) in service of spiritual love. Troubadours sang and authors of romances wrote of a spiritual love that transcended human sensation and emotion. Llull proposes a spiritual love in this vein, a love between a man and a woman that transcends the flesh but that is not heretical like the *fin amors* of the troubadours, because it is rooted firmly in Christian doctrine.[30] The chaste marriage of Blaquerna and Natana is in the same spirit as the spiritual knighthood Llull envisions, and the fictional world of *Blaquerna* is the social laboratory where they take place. Both harness a temporal union to a higher spiritual purpose. In the case of marriage, preservation of property and assurance of lineage yields to mutual spiritual perfection. In the knighthood, fealty to a feudal lord is fused with dedication to the Virgin and militarized *imitatio Christi*.

## Llull's Missionary Theory in *Blaquerna*

The spiritual heroism of Blaquerna demonstrated by his chaste separation from Natana is not strictly metaphorical: he also engages in battles and other types of behaviour typical of the knight errant of the chivalric fiction of the early age of crusades. In one episode that might have been copied straight from Chrétien de Troyes, Blaquerna is wandering through the forest and comes upon a knight who has kidnapped a damsel whom he found walking with her ladies in waiting outside the castle walls: "It so happened that, as chance led Blaquerna from one place to another through the forest, the knight and Blaquerna came across one another. The maiden was weeping and letting out cries, and she begged Blaquerna to assist her."[31] It is a classic confrontation between good knight itinerant and evildoer, the knight in shining armour coming to the rescue of the damsel in distress.[32]

But as he himself points out, Blaquerna is no knight, and stands no chance in a physical contest: "Blaquerna, however, considered that his bodily strength was feeble in comparison with that of the knight, and he therefore mused upon how he might assist the maiden with fortitude and charity, which are spiritual strengths."[33] Blaquerna's arms are spiritual, and instead of challenging the knight to combat, he challenges

his conscience. He employs narrative as a weapon, telling the knight an exemplary tale of an intrepid friar who preaches the Gospels in a Muslim kingdom and is expelled by the king, who gets his comeuppance from God himself for daring to interfere with the friar's holy mission. He inserts the current style of religious polemic into the milieu of a chivalric novel, in a bit of play-within-a-play wish fulfilment based on a combination of the legends of St Francis's mission to al-Kamil and Llull's own missions to north Africa.[34]

This is reminiscent of the sword-versus-pen or clerk-versus-knight debates, except that here Llull is offering a middle road – the debate is not between the knight and the clerk but rather, the two must combine forces. From his perspective, the struggle for supremacy is not between nobility and clergy, but between Christian and non-Christian. Llull himself preached the Gospels in Tunis, barely escaping with his life. He uses the struggle to convert Muslims as an exemplary value (if only by analogy) for the evil knight.

Conversion of the infidel is the ultimate goal of the whole of Llull's career and so undergirds the ideological structure of *Blaquerna*. It is the war and Blaquerna's youthful adventures (*mocedades*) that are the boot camp. His specific missionary code is so central to his ethos that it informs his chivalric sensibility generally. This missionary core is coupled with a focus on argumentation over armed combat: the disputation hall is Blaquerna's jousting list. In fact, Llull dedicates an entire chapter (no. 50, "Fortitude") to making the argument that spirit of will is more formidable than force of arms.

When he confronts a wicked knight who has abducted a damsel, he argues and reasons with the knight in order to appeal to his conscience, much as he might do with an unbeliever in order to bring him around to the truth of Christianity. It is noteworthy that the example he uses to convert the knight from error to truth is that of a preacher who travels to Muslim lands to convert the infidel. He narrates the following to the knight:

> As the story has it, a man very learned in philosophy, theology, and other sciences felt the urge to go to the Saracens to preach the truth of the Holy Catholic Faith so that he might eliminate the error of the Saracens and that the name of God might be worshipped and blessed among them as it is amongst us. The holy man went to the land of the Saracens and preached and demonstrated the truth of our Law, eliminating that of Muhammad as much as he could. News spread throughout that country concerning what he had been doing. The Saracen king had a command issued to that holy Christian requiring him to leave his entire country, and that if he failed to

> comply, he would be put to death. The holy man refused to obey the bodily commandment, for charity and strength were in his heart, causing him to disdain bodily death. The king felt very indignant towards him, so he summoned the man to appear before him and addressed these words to him:
>
> "O foolish Christian, who has disdained my commandment and the strength of my dominion! Do you not realize that I possess so much power that I can torture you and put you to death? Where is your power, whereby you have disdained my strength and my dominion?"
>
> "My lord," said the Christian, "it is true that your bodily power can defeat and overcome by body, but the strength of my mind cannot be overcome by the strength of your mind or by the strength which lies in all the minds of the people of your country."[35]

For Llull, here the error of faith is the emblematic error to which all wrong action can be compared: the knight who abuses his physical power to terrorize the weak is meant to see his own behaviour reflected in the Saracens who intimidate and attack the preacher.

Though much of the novel's discourse deals in more abstract matters of faith and theological details, there are a number of places where Llull addresses quite directly the question of conversion of unbelievers, most frequently in the form of the "Saracen." In one such episode, Blaquerna discusses the question of converting unbelievers with the allegorical figures Faith, Reason, and Truth. He is sceptical that the unbelievers can be converted, but Faith argues,

> If God had not desired people's conversion, then why would he have become incarnate? And why did he wish to endure suffering on the cross? And why did he honour so greatly the Apostles and martyrs, who suffered death in order to exalt me within this world? ... But since people do not maintain or persevere in disputations against the unbelievers, it appears to them that error cannot be overcome by us.[36]

Apparently, those who have undertaken to convert the Saracens simply have not stuck to it enough. Faith further explains that there are learned Saracens, philosophers, who do not believe in their own religion, but had nobody to teach them Christianity, and are a target of opportunity for someone with the proper missionary spirit, like Blaquerna:[37]

> My sister Truth and I have come to you, therefore, to say that you must go to them to demonstrate the truth by necessary reasons and to remove them from the error in which they abide, so that God may be known and loved by them and that my woes may be assuaged.[38]

Understanding explains to Faith and Truth that the Saracens and the Jews are weak in their beliefs, and ripe for conversion:

> Very great is the doubt learned Saracens feel towards their faith; the Jews are doubtful because of the servitude in which they abide, so wish to acquire knowledge; and there are many idolaters who have no faith at all: it is time we went![39]

Just as the unbelievers who hold Jerusalem need a sword, the local unbelievers need a good debater to exhort and convince them to see the truth of Christianity. The unbelievers are in need of someone to demonstrate the truth of Christianity to them by means of rational argumentation. Understanding explains to Blaquerna that "unbelievers call for necessary arguments and demonstrations, yet shun faith. It is time we went, and made use of the demonstrative knowledge we possess."[40] Understanding then conveniently points out that there exists a textbook for doing just so, written by Ramon Llull, titled the *Brief Art of Finding Truth* (*Ars breve*). This manual for religious disputation is the Little Red Book for Llull's massive conversion campaign, and the book is therefore a symbol of his missionary zeal, much as the crusaders (or pilgrims) might "take the cross," and it seems that Llull's intent is for his disciples to take up his own book; a fitting gesture for a knight whose sword is his tongue.

The Christian scientific mission to convert the Saracens and Jews is at the foundation of Blaquerna's chivalric doctrine and practice. It is the engine both of his ideology and his practice, a reconfiguration of chivalric ideals retooled for a western Mediterranean theatre; a chivalry based not on the crusade to the East, but rather on the local crusades of Iberia and designs on north Africa. This missionary chivalry, based as it is on the weapon of disputation and on learning, displays a sophisticated understanding of Islamic doctrine, which is hardly surprising coming from Llull, who in his autobiography relates having spent years learning Arabic for this very purpose.[41]

In the chapter titled "Benedicta tu in mulieribus,"[42] Llull demonstrates this knowledge in an episode in which Blaquerna converts a knight itinerant to the cause of the Virgin. Blaquerna comes upon a knight who sings a song championing his lady over all others. He challenges the knight, saying that his lady is fairer and more worthy: "There was a great dispute between the abbot and the knight over which lady was better. They both agreed that each of them should praise his lady in order to see which could speak greater praise thereof."[43] This knight then travels to the court of a Saracen king, intending to convert him and

his subjects to Christianity. He challenges the king and any knight of his court to single combat, in order "to make him concede the honour which should be paid to Our Lady the Holy Virgin Mary, whose knight I have recently become!"[44] The king refuses, citing his belief (correct according to Islamic doctrine) that "he did not believe Our Lady to be the mother of God, but rather a saintly and virginal woman, and the mother of a man who was a prophet."[45] The king refuses to meet the knight in combat and suggests instead that they dispute the matter. The Saracen king's initial refusal to fight over the matter of the Virgin's divinity is an interesting turn of events that reveals Llull's understanding of Islamic religion and, I would argue, of Islamic political history and the doctrine of *dhimma* (the protection of monotheistic minorities).[46] The Saracen knight is suggesting that he meet the knight halfway, conceding that Mary was "holy" and the "mother of a prophet,"[47] and offers to find a way to debate the matter with these as (not entirely incompatible) starting propositions. He acts, therefore, as a level-headed Andalusi king might have acted had a Christian come to his court to demand the "Saracens" pledge their devotion to the Virgin. Absent any insult to Islam or to the Prophet Muhammad, such a demand might be taken light-heartedly, and certainly not as a threat.[48] Instead here the Saracen king perceives no insult to Islam, and in so doing reveals Llull's relatively sophisticated understanding of Islamic doctrine and historical treatment of Christian and Jewish minorities.

Nonetheless, the missionary knight of the order of "Benedicta tu" presses his case, and demands single combat because he lacks the education necessary to engage in formal debate with the Saracen king. The king becomes enraged at this abuse of his hospitality (he did not, after all, take offence at the knight's challenge) and demands the knight be put to death, before one of his courtiers reminds the king that this would contravene the chivalric code. The king thereupon relents, agreeing to stage a single combat between the Christian and his own champion. The Christian knight fights the Saracen to a standstill, and they continue the next day, at which point the Saracen finally converts, provoking the rage of the Saracen king, who has both knights executed: "These knights were martyrs for the sake of Our Lady, who honoured them in the glory of her Son because they had accepted martyrdom in order to honour her. And she is ready to honour all those who in like manner seek to honour her."[49] Here Llull again deploys a well-known trope from the chivalric literature of the day: the knightly challenge to his opponent to admit the supremacy of his lady or face single combat. Instead of championing his damsel, he champions the Virgin, and just as the vanquished knight of a chivalric romance must

on his honour concede to the supremacy of the victor's beloved above all other women, here he must pledge fealty to the Virgin. This challenge naturally proves irresistible, and the Saracen, defeated in single combat, submits to the supremacy of the Christian knight's lady by converting to Christianity.[50]

The conversion of this Saracen knight vividly puts into practice Llull's brand of spiritualized and intellectualized chivalry by which he places the chivalric ideal of service to one's lady squarely in service to the church, substituting the Virgin for the knight's earthly beloved. This gesture is fitting for the poetic discourse of Llull's time, when certain poets who composed Marian songs of praise would call themselves "the Virgin's troubadour."[51] Likewise, it makes sense for a man who has foregone marriage (or, in Llull's case, abandoned it) in favour of serving the church to imagine a chivalry based on service to the Virgin rather than a flesh-and-blood lady.

This imaginary chivalric order of the Virgin deploys a number of features of the chivalry of Llull's time. Its name, "Benedicta tu," recalls the mottoes knights would stitch on their standards and embroider on their clothes that made veiled reference to the ladies they served, as well as to the poetic *senhals*, cryptic references to the beloveds of the troubadours, intentionally obscure so as to avoid publicly offending the male relations of the lady in question.[52]

When the knight, newly converted by Blaquerna to the order of "Benedicta tu in mulieribus" arrives at the Saracen court, he issues his challenge to the Saracen king, explaining that he challenges the king to say that his lady is not the fairest of them all:

> I am the servant and lover of a lady who is better than all women, and who is Mother of God and man by the grace of the Holy Spirit. And within your court I shall do combat with anyone who refuses this honour to Our Lady in order to make him concede the honour which should be paid to Our Lady the Holy Virgin Mary, whose knight I have recently become![53]

This aggressive challenge to the honour of the opposing knight is a matter of doctrine rather than justice. While knights typically pledge to protect the weak and the innocent (therefore all the damsels in distress), they also pledge to uphold the honour of their lady above all others. Knights itinerant of the Arthurian tradition often take to the road, seeking wrongs to right and challenging all comers to recognize the supremacy of the lady they serve. The substitution of the Virgin for the earthly lady in this case fits perfectly the de-metaphorization of the chivalric ideal: all must submit to the Virgin or face Llull's syllogisms.

**Arabic School for Martyrs**

In order to demonstrate that his plan to send militant missionaries throughout the Muslim world (beginning with Granada and north Africa) is underway, Llull explains that there is already an Arabic academy established ("in perpetuity") by King Jaume II of Aragon on Llull's home island of Majorca. At this school, he says, a group of Franciscan friars will be trained in Arabic, after which "they should go to honour the fruit of Our Lady, and in order to achieve this they should endure hunger, thirst, heat, cold, fear, torment, and death."[54] In his autobiography, Llull confirms the school's existence, mentioning that it was endowed in the amount of 500 florins annually (*Contemporary* 4.18: 45). However, Jaume's peer in Castile-Leon, the bookish Alfonso X did indeed (or said he did) establish a similar academy of Arabic studies at Seville during his reign (Márquez Villanueva 158). King Jaume's school for Arabic studies demonstrates that Llull's fantasy of converting the region's Muslims was neither haphazard nor naive. In fact, it may take inspiration from his own famously problematic experience learning Arabic in Majorca from a Muslim slave.[55] From his own experience as an individual learner, Llull came to realize that an organized effort to educate Christian religious in Arabic would require long-term institutional support. In fact, Llull travelled to Rome and several European courts attempting to secure funding for just such a school. In his autobiography he describes (in the third person) his attempt to pitch his project to the pope:

> He went to the Papal Court, to see if he could persuade the pope and the cardinals to establish similar monasteries throughout the world for teaching various languages. But when he arrived at the court, he found that the pope, called Honorius, had recently died.[56]

He describes making a second such trip in 1311 to pitch the idea to Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienne, asking for "the establishment of an adequate place where men of devotion and vigorous intellect could be brought together to study different kinds of languages so as to know how to preach the doctrine of the Gospel to every creature."[57] As a result, the Vatican endowed chairs at the universities at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca (Hillgarth, *Lullism* 128). This representation of a papal academy of Arabic for missionaries, like his display of the details of Muslim doctrine, reveals his readiness to actually engage Muslims on their own terms in disputations. One cannot practically engage Muslims – even primary-Romance-speaking Muslims – in

religious disputation without mastery of their scriptural tradition and the language of religious instruction in the Muslim world.

And engage them he did: Llull constantly sought opportunities to set up disputations with Iberian and north African Muslims, and made a number of missionary trips to Tunis, none of which appeared to have been particularly successful in terms of either conversion or martyrdom. But because we are more concerned here with representation than results, it is telling (but hardly surprising, given the uses of fiction) that he repeatedly imagines more successful versions of his many real-life endeavours to convert Muslims.

**Peak Conversion**

In *Blaquerna*, Llull successfully carries out his fantasy of education, disputation, and conversion (we might call it conquest from within), that failed in real life. Blaquerna travels to Rome to convince the pope to back his project. He begins by preparing a set of propositions for disputation in which he seeks to establish the Christian duty to both convert the Saracen and reclaim the Holy Land:

> Question: "Whether Christians are to blame for the ignorance of unbelievers who do not know about the Holy Catholic Faith."
>
> Question: "Do Catholics, who are in possession of the truth, enjoy greater power and opportunity to convert unbelievers to the true path, than unbelievers do to cause Catholics to abandon truth and embrace error?"
>
> Question: "Whether Christians are to blame for the fact that the Saracens are in control of the Holy Land of Outremer, where Jesus Christ was conceived, born and crucified."[58]

In this set of propositions, Llull ties the conquest of the holy land (crusade) to the greater project of universal conversion, something that was never high on the crusaders' wish list, who were more concerned with taking and holding the holy sites. I would argue that his focus on conversion in the larger Latin framework of crusade belies his origin as a Majorcan who was the son of colonial administrators in a newly Christian land, surrounded by a subject Muslim population who were targets of opportunity for Christian missionaries. His approach to crusade as a primarily missionary project is informed more by his domestic reality than by historical crusading theology or practice. It is a sort of combination of his own experience of Iberian Christian conquest and

mission with the ideal of a *pax christiana* (after *pax romana*) that makes mission possible.

In his autobiography, Llull describes his mission to the 1311 Council of Vienne, where he recommended to Pope Clement V that "all of the Christian military religious orders a single order be made, one that would maintain continual warfare overseas against the Saracens until the Holy Land had been reconquered."[59] This request comes directly on the heels of another: to found a papal school of languages. From this we see that Llull was not exactly a pacifist; he did not seek to replace armed conflict with Islam with disputations, but rather sought to subordinate military force to the missionary project.

Blaquerna never does get to dispute the matter with the pope, who dies before Blaquerna arrives at his court. However, he does present his quodlibets to a cardinal who is so impressed with Blaquerna's learning that he promotes Blaquerna to succeed the pope. As pope, Blaquerna is now in a position to put his plan into practice. Before this can happen, a letter from the sultan of Babylon arrives, challenging the Christian claim to the Holy Land and calling out the Latin West on not practising the teachings of Jesus:

> The Sultan told the pope that he felt great wonder at how, when they conquered the Holy Land of Outremer, he and all the Christian kings and princes had adopted the methods of their prophet Muhammad, who occupied by force of arms the countries he had conquered, since they had not chosen to adopt those of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, who by preaching and martyrdom converted the world. And because the pope and the Christians did not adopt the methods of their forefathers when conquering countries, God did not wish them, therefore, to have possession of the Holy Land of Outremer.[60]

Llull puts his own argument for conversion in the mouth of the sultan, painting him both as a worthy opponent (he attributes knowledge of chivalry and of Christianity to the Muslim characters in the novel) and as a foil to point out the contradictions in a crusading theology that justifies violence in the name of protection of the holy sites. According to Llull, controlling the Muslim body without achieving their conversion is violence; for if it is a Christian *duty* to the Muslim to bring him into the light, the greater sin is holding his land and his possessions by force without attending to the needs of his soul. That is, as Llull's sultan puts it, the true *imitatio Christi* is not the militarized pilgrimage of the crusader, but rather the missionary itinerancy of Christ and the Apostles.

Llull, however, does favour a crusade, or at least he appreciates its value as a political tool to unite Christians in a common struggle and create the conditions for more effective missionary work. As pope, Blaquerna brings peace to two warring Christian kings by redirecting their struggle in a crusade against the Saracens, which not only unites them but also brings their lands under church control, as was often the practice when Western knights went on crusade:

> The pope granted full remission of sins and ordered a crusade, and from the coffers of the holy church he made great gifts to the two kings and to other barons, and took the territories of the two kings into his care and under his command. The two kings were so greatly pleased by this ordinance and each of them felt such a great desire to do combat, that they both agreed that they should place their dispute in the hands of the pope. So they took up the crusade and suspended the argument over which they were in disagreement, so that the crusade might not be disrupted thereby.[61]

In fact, Blaquerna even notes that the two kings pledge to the pope any territory they might conquer in their crusade. Llull's vision of crusade here is a projection of the feudal vassalage by which the pope plays the role of liege lord who outsources the internecine violence of the Christian world to Islam. Once again, Llull's vision of spiritual chivalry de-metaphorizes the chivalric ideal, making literal the concept that crusade is war in service to the church. While historical crusades were directed by high nobility and royalty in the service of the Christian faith, Blaquerna's crusade is directed by the pope himself, who as feudal lord assumes control of all lands conquered in his name.[62]

Llull's crusade theology is sophisticated. While he does not advocate for all-out war, he proposes a hybrid model of aggressive missionary work with the implied threat of military enforcement. He tells the (very autobiographical) tale of how a philosopher in pagan lands converted to Christianity, and converted many pagans in his city to Christianity by means of disputation and philosophical arguments. This philosopher meets his end at the hands of an angry mob of pagans who do not appreciate his efforts to bring them to Christ and dies a martyr (*Romance* 362; *Romanç* 367–8). This martyrdom of a peaceful preacher justifies military action in the form of a Christian knight, who comes to the philosopher's city not with a conquering army, but by himself to challenge to single combat all comers who would deny Christ's divinity and cling to their pagan ways. This message is delivered in a scene

drawn directly from the chivalric romances of the times, in a challenge to single combat punctuated with a moralizing dialogue delivered in loftier-than-usual language:

> The knight went to that city to challenge hand-to-hand combat any man who might say that God did not exist or that God was the sun, the moon, or the other creatures which idolaters venerate as a likeness of God. The knight did combat with a great number of knights from that land, and defeated many thereof. Yet, in the end, an archer fired an arrow at him which split his heart in two, so the knight became a martyr for having praised God through the exercise of arms.[63]

Llull's strategy supposes that Muslims, as reasonable, educated people, are susceptible to conversion by reasoning and argument. One anecdote Blaquerna relates tells of a Muslim king who is ripe for conversion, but who cannot make the leap of faith without being brought to Christ through proofs. He sends a letter to the pope asking the pontiff to send a missionary trained in argumentation. The Muslim king relates that

> since the Christian had told him that the Catholic faith could not be proved by argument, he therefore did not desire to become a Christian, for he did not wish to give up one faith for another. He said, however, that, in the hope of understanding, he would abandon the faith of Muhammad and embrace that of the Catholics, provided that the pope sent word to him as to whether the latter was susceptible of proof. For, were it to be so, he would become a Christian and would worship Jesus Christ as God and would turn his entire country over to the Church of Rome, so that all the inhabitants of that country might worship Jesus Christ.[64]

This notion that winning a king to Christianity would result in the conversion of the entire kingdom is a trope of medieval romance that we see in the works under consideration in this study. I would argue that it is another projection of Christian ideas onto Islamic characters (much like the author of *Ziyad* projects Islamic ideas about paganism onto the Astrologer King). Since Islam allows for religious minorities (Jews and Christians) to practise their religion and to manage the affairs of their community autonomously, it would be difficult to imagine a historical scenario in which an entire kingdom would convert to Islam were the ruler to do so first. Islam is universal and missionary to a certain extent but historically tends to rely on economic and social incentive to bring

non-Muslims over to the fold. Forced, violent conversions were by far the exception (though certainly they occurred), and the great number of Jews and Christians who converted to Islam did so in their own self-interest but not at the point of the sword.[65]

Again here Llull adapts the conventions of the chivalric novel to his own particular brand of missionary crusade. Heroes of other romances of conversion come to Christianity through some sort of chivalric love relationship, whether for a lady or for their Lord. As we will see in subsequent chapters, the hero of *Flores y Blancaflor* converts for love of a Christian lady, and his subjects follow suit. The Muslim King Escariano in *Tirant lo Blanc* converts to Christianity out of loyalty to the Christian knight Tirant, and his subjects do likewise in short order. In these cases, the characters choose conversion (and achieve the conversion of their kingdoms) for personal and political reasons. In Llull's world, the spiritual and the theological supplant the political and the courtly. It is a world run by friars instead of kings.

This chivalric influence extends to his real-life style of missionary practice (at least as reported in his autobiography), so that he structures his religious disputations after chivalric single combat in which both parties put themselves at equal risk of death (here conversion). This is not a case of preaching down from the pulpit, but of matching wits in the arena to see who is the better man (and therefore which is the better religion). If in chivalric combat right is determined by physical prowess, in Llull's proselytism, theological truth is determined by forensic prowess. He demonstrates this theological single combat during a missionary visit to Tunis:

> Ramon, after slowly gathering together, day by day, those most versed in the Mohammedan religion, said to them, among other things, that he knew the foundations of the Christian religion well in all its articles, and that he had come with the idea of converting to their sect if, having heard the foundations of their religion, that is to say, that of Mohammed, and having debated with them over this matter, he found them more valid than those of the Christians.[66]

While Llull recognizes that Muslims can be convinced by logical argumentation, he also admits that many can be swayed by rhetoric, a path he considers less authentic. In one anecdote related to Pope Blaquerna, a messenger tells his cardinal of his trip to north Africa, where he witnessed "many frauds and scoundrels who were preaching the Quran and the beatitude of Paradise to the Saracens."[67] These preachers were effective, for they moved their audiences to tears

"because of the fine way in which these men spoke and because such men narrated the lives of many a person who had died on account of his devotion."[68] But ultimately, their approach (appealing to the emotions) as well as their message (Islam) are erroneous. Yet this bit of fictional fieldwork tells us something about Llull's missionary methodology: he conducted extensive market research. We have already seen how he parlays his understanding of Islamic doctrine and custom into his missionary practice, but his survey of world religions is not limited to Islam and Judaism. As part of his plan to unite the globe under the cross he also surveys paganism in contemporary Europe, noting specific cults in the region. Again this knowledge is gathered by a messenger, who reports back to Pope Blaquerna on the religious practices of the peoples to the north:

> There was a certain country, called Girland, in which, every five years, a white bear would appear as a sign that that year they would have a great abundance of fish, on which those people live. There is also another country in which, by casting a spell, they induce the trees to talk. And there is yet another country, near Bochnia, in which a hoopoe enters a forest and, if anybody cuts any branches therein, thunder and lightning immediately fall from the sky and place everyone who is within that forest in mortal danger. There is another country in which each man considers himself to have a god in his field, and another in his livestock, and another in his kitchen garden.[69]

His survey of world religions puts the local (and regional) struggle against Islam into the context of a universal drive to bring all humankind to the church. This way the Iberian, African, and Levantine crusades that characterized his age are subordinated to a larger (perhaps even more) idealistic project that is greater than the monotheistic sibling rivalry between Islam and Christianity that dominated the medieval imagination. The drive to unify and universalize that compelled Llull to create his magnum opus, the *Ars magna*, leads him to similar grand synthesizing gestures in the political arena as well, gestures that while theoretically sound, were unlikely to gain political favour. A good example is his idea to consolidate Latin Christendom's crusading efforts. Overall, however, what is most salient in Llull's fictionalizing of his theory of missionary crusade is his use of the imagery and structures of the chivalric imaginary. In *Blaquerna*, he brings together the sacred mission of military crusade, the conquest of the Muslim soul through proselytization, and the knightly ideals of thirteenth-century Iberia.

# 4 Romancing Iberian Crusade: *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*

*Blaquerna* uses fiction to put the tropes of chivalric romance into the service of Iberian missionary crusade. The innovation of the compiler of the *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* is, by contrast, to weave an actual romance into the chapters of history. Instead of the "meanwhile ..." that the Arthurian romances use when panning to another substrand, it uses the "meanwhile" to toggle back and forth between romance and chronicle, demonstrating vividly the idea that both are in the end a form of fiction. *Flores y Blancaflor* shares this tendency with the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* and other romances placed in the service of historiography. While *Blaquerna* places the resources of fiction in the service of the church, the *Flores y Blancaflor* uses these resources to support royal ideology and political objectives, in particular to legitimate the Castilian throne's claim to the legacy of Charlemagne and therefore its aspirations to Holy Roman Empire.

The story of Flores and Blancaflor circulated widely in medieval western Europe. It is one of a group of "orientalising" medieval romances, based on Byzantine models, that deal with the confrontation of Western Latin Christendom and the Muslim East. These narratives, including the French *Floire et Blancheflor*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, and later the Valencian *Tirant lo Blanc* play out the anxieties of Western elites over the political fate of the Mediterranean in fictional stories.[1]

The story of Flores and Blancaflor (*Floire et Blancheflor* in French) is thought to be of eastern origin, perhaps Byzantine, Persian, or Arabic. Western authors begin to mention it in the late twelfth century. The earliest fragment is an early thirteenth-century French manuscript, and complete versions begin to appear in French manuscripts in the late thirteenth century.[2] In the Iberian Peninsula, troubadours mention it starting in the late twelfth century, and Juan Ruiz references it in his *Libro de buen amor* in the middle of the fourteenth. The version

we discuss here is thought to have been composed in late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, surviving in a late fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Estoria de España*, begun by Alfonso X "The Learned" and completed by his son Sancho IV. It is possible that the compiler of the manuscript in which *Flores y Blancaflor* appears was not at court. Some believe him to have been a monk writing outside of the court, and as such more whimsical in his representation of the past than his counterparts at the court of Castile-Leon.[3]

The compiler of *Flores y Blancaflor* here re-presents conquests of Asturian kings as crusades with their attendant fictions. While any emperor may presume a civilizing rationalization for taking land by force and imposing a strange language on the defeated, in order to enrol God himself in the effort, you really should have a good story to back it up.

The story of the two lovers is interpolated into an account of the history of the kings of Asturias and their struggles with the Umayyad caliphate in Cordova. This episode in Iberian history was very important for the chroniclers of the Castilian kings Alfonso X and Sancho IV for a number of reasons: it demonstrates political continuity with the Asturian kingdoms, who are credited with the first significant Christian military incursions against the Umayyad caliphate. In this way the Castilian kings connect the earliest campaigns of the Asturian kings against Umayyad Cordova to their contemporary struggles with Nasrid Granada. This sort of propagandistic historiography is not peculiar to the *Estoria de España*. What is most noteworthy about it is the way in which the compiler places the entirely fictional *Flores y Blancaflor* in the service of royal history, specifically in order to underscore the image of the Castilian kings as military and spiritual conquerors of al-Andalus, but also as legitimate heirs to the legacy of Charlemagne, whose campaigns in al-Andalus are ostensibly linked to the setting of *Flores y Blancafor*. The campaigns of the Asturian kings are here remade for the crusader age, and lent ideological support by the (imported) romance of Flores and Blancaflor, whose successful romance against all odds *proves* – through fiction – the legitimacy of Iberian crusade.[4]

In *Flores y Blancaflor*, a French countess in the third trimester of her pregnancy is on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela when Muslim raiders from al-Andalus attack her entourage. They take her captive and bring her to the court of King Fines, the Muslim king of Almería. It so happens that Fines's wife is also pregnant; she and the countess give birth on the same day. The two children, the Muslim boy Flores and the Christian girl Blancaflor, are both nursed by the countess and raised together at court.[5] Eventually they fall in love. In order to separate the two, King Fines sends Flores away to Seville, and then sells

Blancaflor into slavery and fakes her death. Flores goes to rescue her. In the end, Flores converts to Christianity, marries Blancaflor, and as king of Almería he converts his entire kingdom to Christianity.[6]

The thirteenth-century Castilian version of *Flores y Blancaflor* appears tightly woven into a late fourteenth-century copy of the *Estoria de España* begun by Alfonso X of Castile-Leon and completed during the reign of his successor Sancho IV. Sancho and his successors reigned over a tri-religious kingdom that was under constant pressure from Rome to finish the job and bring all of the Iberian Peninsula under Christendom. *Flores y Blancaflor* is a foundational narrative meant to link the Castilian monarchy to the Carolingian legacy and to fictionalize the dream of a fully Christian peninsula. What on the far side of the Pyrenees is an allegory for Christian imperialism becomes in Spain a more problematic domestic fantasy of Christian political and spiritual hegemony. In this chapter I will demonstrate how *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* is an *internal-orientalizing* tale of boy-meets-girl meant to legitimize Castile's vision of a Christian Iberia, while providing a fictional happy ending to a thorny political and religious problem.

In the twelfth-century French version, the story of *Floire et Blancheflor* was about emphasizing Charlemagne's military struggle with Islam at a time when France was once again entangled with Islam in the crusades (Baranda). The narrative validated the crusades (both Eastern and Iberian) as the continuation of Charlemagne's struggle with Islam in Spain. However, when a Castilian historiographer adapts the text for purposes of validating domestic crusade in Iberia, the adventures of the star-crossed young lovers finding each other against all odds becomes the story of Castilian political power and Christian proselytizing in al-Andalus.

What symbolic work does the romance of *Floire et Blancheflor* perform in its twelfth-century, so-called primitive version? The key differences in the work performed by the story is that for France, the crusades were a remote imperialist project, while for Castile it was a domestic issue. The period during which French versions appear is one in which we see the development of conquest literature, both in chronicles, *chansons de geste*, and romances (Trotter). The Iberian setting does not in any way indicate an Iberian origin for the tale. On the contrary, there are a number of French romances and epic poems set in the Iberian Peninsula (and southern France).[7] These narratives frame al-Andalus as another front in the crusades, just as papal bulls issued from the late eleventh century forward confirm.[8] In fact, nobles from the south of France were frequent participants in Iberian campaigns against the Almohads and later against Nasrid Granada. In the literary imagination

these campaigns were conflated with Charlemagne's campaigns waged along the border between the Catalan principalities that were under his protection and the Umayyad forces. His concern was not precisely that Islam was taking root in the Peninsula; rather it was that the Umayyads were controlling the Peninsula uncontestedly.

In the eighth century there was no crusade per se and no discourse of crusade. While contemporary sources describe Charlemagne's military conflict with the Umayyad caliphate in religious terms,[9] Rome did not back this discourse with remission of sins for those who fought under the cross. In fact, Charlemagne's historical exploits in the Iberian Peninsula were almost entirely non-sectarian. The Abbasid-Charlemagne alliance was a political convenience meant to counter Abbasid encroachment on Byzantium. Charlemagne allied with Iberian supporters of the Abbasid caliphate against the Iberian Umayyad caliphate, and therefore against Byzantium as well. In the East, the Abbasids were closing in on Anatolia, and Rome was locked in a struggle with Byzantium over the question of iconoclasm. In the west, the Abbasids and Charlemagne conspired to cut Umayyad Cordova off from the Mediterranean (Buckler 4–12; Sholod 43–50).

Nonetheless, the conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the Umayyad caliphate was great grist for the propagandistic mill of late medieval writers. They recast the eighth-century conflicts between Christian and Muslim polities as precedent for the crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, clothing them in the discourse of crusade and holy war. This established a coherent narrative of historical continuity and lent legitimacy to the contemporary war effort. The reality is that during Charlemagne's time, the relationships between the kingdom of Asturias, Charlemagne, and the eastern counts was far more important than that with al-Andalus (Nava 32). Only retrospectively did the struggle with al-Andalus move to the fore, due to the ideological concerns that shaped the chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[10]

According to Carlos Alvar, Charlemagne's high profile in medieval Castilian literature is the product both of historical fact and of the "implantation" (*implantación*) of Cluny in Castile-Leon during the reign of Alfonso VI (r. 1077–1109). The *Poem of Almería* compares Alfonso VII (r. 1126–57) (who led the siege of Almería) with Charlemagne, and his generals with Oliver and Roland. A series of Castilian historians make note of Charlemagne's campaigns against Umayyad al-Andalus, including Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi* (1236) and Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae* (1243). Alfonso X's *Estoria de España* (1270–89) relates Sigiberto's brief (in Alvar's words, "*de un laconismo absolute*,"

[totally laconic]) version of Charlemagne's campaigns in Andalusi Pamplona and Zaragoza. Later, recounting the events of the year 807, the chronicle tells of how Alfonso II "the Chaste" of Asturias (r. 783 and 791–842) first offered Charlemagne his throne if the French king would rid the Peninsula of the Muslims.[11] He then rescinds the offer once his nephew Bernardo (the *Bernardo del Carpio* of the eponymous fragmentary epic and the ballad cycle) defeats the Muslims at Roncevaux, and goes to war with France (Alvar 69–94). Charlemagne is also the protagonist of a corpus of popular ballads thought to derive from Hispanic epic songs (*cantares de gesta*) and/or popular versifications of accounts of Charlemagne's exploits recorded in medieval chronicles. On the Iberian Peninsula, popular ballads had already begun to blend the worlds of Charlemagne and Arthur by the fifteenth century (Díaz Mas, "Romancero viejo" 113–14).

## The Iberian Difference

For authors and audiences of the French *Floire et Blancheflor*, questions of conquest, proselytization, and conversion (at least to Islam) were not domestic issues. There was no significant history of political Islam north of the Pyrenees, and consequently no identitarian struggle with a local Islamic past. For French audiences, tales of Saracen queens who convert to Christianity were the stuff of distant legend in the context of a far-away colonial project.[12] For Christian Iberians, however, conversion and domestic crusade was the story of daily life.[13] The allegory of mixed marriage and conversion in *Flores y Blancaflor* was part of local history, and to a significant extent, a daily reality. Just as French royals often intermarried with the royal houses of neighbouring kingdoms, both Andalusi Muslim and Christian Iberian royals had long intermarried.[14] In the thirteenth century, daily coexistence with Muslims in Christian kingdoms as well as political conflict with the kingdom of Granada was not something that took place, as in the French version, a "long time ago" and "far far away" in *Outremer*.[15]

These narratives of conversion have very different valences in France than in Spain.[16] France effectively had no Muslim population in the thirteenth century.[17] For French audiences, Islam was either part of their experience in *Outremer* as part of the crusading effort, or perhaps through trade with Muslims in north Africa and the Levant. In any event, tales of the conversion of a protagonist in a given romance would not have been understood as bearing on domestic politics in any direct way.[18] Even in *Aucassin et Nicolette* when Aucassin converts to Christianity in Spain this is only a desire to see France's neighbour

put its spiritual house in order, and at best a justification of the participation of French knights in crusade, whether Peninsular or Eastern.[19] The Iberian cases, however, speak to domestic history and politics. There *were* historical Muslim kings in Spain born of Christian mothers. Biconfessional families were not unheard of and in any event society in general, at least during the period when the *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* was written, was multiconfessional, if not always harmoniously so. We saw in the previous chapter on Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna* that mission and conversion were very much at the centre of religious and political life in thirteenth-century Aragon and Castile. There even existed a vocabulary of conversion in medieval Spain, where historically many people converted from one monotheistic religion to another, and where the traffic in souls was not simply a question of Christian conversion as it was elsewhere in Latin Christendom. When literary characters in Iberian romances convert, they reflect not only Christian missionary fantasy, but also local history and local culture.[20]

We see this familiarity reflected in how the authors imagine the physical appearances of Christian and Muslim characters. In the French *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Christian characters darken their skin chemically in order to "pass" as Saracen. In the Iberian romances religion and skin colour are not connected. Rather, for a Christian character to pass as Muslim, such as when Paris (hero of the early fifteenth-century romance *Paris y Viana*) travels to the east, he simply changes his clothes, grows his beard, and speaks Arabic instead of French.[21] The art of the times reinforces this idea: many of the Muslims portrayed in thirteenth-century Iberian miniatures are distinguished not by physiognomy or pigment (phenotype), but by head coverings, the most famous example being the Christian and Muslim playing chess in Alfonso X's *Libro de los juegos*.[22]

The solution proposed by the romance is similar to other such arrangements in Arthurian romances where warring factions bury the hatchet by intermarrying, and posits a political/proselytic alternative to the narrative of holy war. The conversion of an entire kingdom achieved by the conversion of the ruler is not a unique case or merely fiction. The Central Asian Khazari King Bulan converted his entire kingdom to Judaism in the ninth century. Judah Halevi famously dramatized this situation in his religious polemic the *Kuzari*, completed approximately one century prior to *Flores y Blancaflor* but contemporary with the French romances of conversion.[23] This fantasy (already in prototype in *Ziyad*), plays out in the pages of *Blaquerna*, and reaches its apogee, as we will see, in *Tirant lo Blanc*, which features multiple examples of mass conversion.

When the French fantasy of the Muslim other is retrofitted for Iberian audiences, the result is a curious internal-orientalist encounter

between Christianity and Islam in which the role of the Muslim other is transformed from crusade metaphor to national historical allegory. At the same time, Iberian monarchs are using the Carolingian narrative against their counterparts across the Pyrenees by trying to lay claim to Charlemagne's legacy. That is, while the French kings used the romance to legitimize their dynastic claims, the author of the Castilian version appropriates the narrative for his own political ends against the French themselves, stabbing them, as it were, with their own Charlemagne.

One of the most curious features of the *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* is the extent to and way in which it is interwoven with the chronicle's account of the Asturian kings and their struggle with the Umayyad caliphate.[24] Ultimately the romance is a fictional allegory for the Castilian military and spiritual designs on al-Andalus. The Muslim Flores embodies the dream of the conquest and conversion of al-Andalus; Blancaflor the recuperation the Christian Hispania lost in the Muslim invasion of 711. The union of the two allegorizes Castile's dual claim to the Umayyad (Flores) and Carolingian (Blancaflor) political legacies.[25]

How does this "abuse" of fiction fit into historiographical and narrative practice of the times? These are not the "events that might have taken place" of the classical historians, but something different: events and figures set in "real time" that are meant to make a point, to analogize the ideological or affective goals of the writers in narrative form. Just as Richard Walsh writes of fiction as a rhetorical trope rather than as a genre or mode (6), the chronicler here deploys the romance of *Flores y Blancaflor* not in order to represent history logically, but rather rhetorically, in an attempt to appeal to the affect or emotional faculty of the reader. Much as one might argue that romances of adultery appeal to the individual's desire for freedom in the choice of a romantic partner in an age when arranged marriages were de rigueur among the upper classes, *Flores y Blancaflor* is a historical fantasy in which a spiritual (not military) conquest of al-Andalus is brokered by an interreligious love story. If in *Blaquerna* the dream of conversion is linked to religious education and disputation that were the realm of the clergy and in particular of the preaching orders, here the "romancing" of the crusading ideal is linked to the dynasty-forging political marriages that were the province of the aristocracy and the court, for whom the author of *Flores y Blancaflor* was ostensibly writing.

In this way, *Flores y Blancaflor* is akin to other allegorical tales such as the aljamiado *Doncella Arcayona* (early seventeenth century), in which the abused Arcayona (or Carcayona in some versions) rebels against her incestuous and cruel pagan father by converting to Islam and thus gaining the power she needs to overcome adversity.[26] This is much different

from the Muslim or pagan who converts in capitulation to superior force, or out of a sheer recognition of the superiority of the hero's character or military prowess, which in the final analysis, amount to the same.

## The Role of Fiction

Flores and Blancaflor are not in any way historical characters. Instead, they are players in a historical fiction that is meant to mobilize audiences' affective investment in the historical work being carried out by the chronicle with which their tale is so tightly interwoven. I see the work's "novelization" as the addition of realistic or extra-historical detail, dialogue, description of physical surroundings, clothing, arms, social and chivalric practices that obtained at court, all of which are highly characteristic of medieval prose fiction, and to a lesser extent, historiographical writing.[27] Prose fiction, like contemporary film, provides the reader with the emotional justification for the logic of the larger narrative. It gives us reasons for caring about what happens, embodied in the ups and downs of sympathetic heroes and antipathic villains.

In the modern age we have developed concepts of history based on collective national identity, supported by mechanical reproduction and abstract ideas of the body politic (though still ultimately relying on embodiment). In the Middle Ages historical consciousness was embodied in the person either of a narrator or in a well-known historical figure whose exploits (as in epic) served as the historical referent for the community. Therefore people wanted their history in stories about great heroes and villains, with named narrators and mediators, and in the form of palpable, weighty books that bore historical fact. The difference lies in what we regarded as fact then and now. Truth claims that today would require scientific support could then be legitimately made through narrative.

## Allegory and Historical Allegory in the Late Middle Ages

Allegory was one of the most important modes of literary expression in the Middle Ages. Building on classical models of allegories of the Pantheon, medieval Christians developed allegory as one of the primary ways of understanding the drama of human history in a broader, cosmic context. By the twelfth century there was already a pronounced trend in novelizing historiographic allegorical narratives. Umberto Eco famously observed that allegory was the dominant aesthetic in the Middle Ages.[28] Northrop Frye writes that historical allegory and novelization are a natural reaction to a lack of abstraction of historical consciousness (50–8). By the thirteenth century, these allegorical habits

of mind bore fruit in the form of complex works such as the *Roman de la rose*, but also in the form of political allegories, that lent coherence and justification to historical events. If Flores and Blancaflor are not historical, neither are they historical allegory precisely. Fictional heroes of historical narratives embody abstractions such as societal ideals (the hero as personification of strength), while historical allegories embody the actual events they protagonize (the hero as metonymy for a historic kingdom). An example in Castilian is the ballad "Abenámar," in which King Juan II is portrayed as being in love with Granada, which he desires to conquer (Díaz Roig 93–4). Some critics have suggested an allegorical interpretation for the late fourteenth-century tale of *Paris y Viana* by which Paris represents the French Crown and Viana (Vienne) represents the Dauphinate of Burgundy. Their union, then, justifies the annexation of the Dauphinate by the Crown (Galmés de Fuentes, *París y Viana* 13–14). Other popular narratives such as the Aljamiado *Doncella Arcayona* have served as a broad allegory for the marginalization suffered by the Moriscos in the century leading up to their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[29]

The subordination of historical reality to a fictional romance is a way of dressing up the abstract concepts of spiritual ill in the form of young, attractive, noble lovers. In the age of allegories such as the *Roman de la Rose*, with which *Flores y Blancaflor* is roughly contemporary, this text is not simply a subtle yet outrageous literary invention; rather it is in step with the times as yet another experiment in historical and intellectual allegories in vogue at the time. Nonetheless, the author of *Flores y Blancaflor* takes the allegorical principle one step further. The eponymous lovers are not meant to allegorize historical events per se (as in the case of *Paris y Viana*), but rather allegorize events one wishes might take place.[30]

**Internal Orientalist Allegory**

In *Flores y Blancaflor* this historical allegorization plays out in an internal orientalist mode that is unique in Latin Christendom. Carl Jubran coined the term "*internal orientalism*" with reference to modern Spain's engagement with its Andalusi legacy. For him it is the orientalizing process performed on one's own national history:

> Spanish Orientalism is an internal process which involves the celebration of the "other" within the historiography of Spanish national culture and identity. Although this represents a unique process which breaks down the model of binary oppositions presented by Said, and other postcolonial scholars, of the "East/West" "Christian/non-Christian," it is still a

> process concerned with modernization through imperialist aspirations. In this manner, this new process could be called an "internal-Orientalism."[31]

This chronicle is perhaps the first such example. It is the re-appropriation of an ultrapyrennean orientalizing narrative put in the service of a Castilan royal history, or in Patricia Grieve's words, "an excellent example for exploration of a culture attempting to shape its own history through a particular view of history" (168).

As in the so-called Moorish novel, the Muslim protagonist is the mirror of Christian chivalry, and distinct from the Christians only by religion and perhaps outward appearance.[32] As in modern orientalist narratives, the Muslim Other is the object of conversion and conquest. However, this orientalizing narrative is different because the Other is not simply to be dominated through conquest and conversion, but ultimately becomes assimilated to the self; this is what Jubran means by "internal Orientalism," the exoticization and objectification of one's own cultural history. As we have seen, the process of assimilating the Other to self has a biological basis that is rooted in the scientific discourse of the times.

This idea of the hero born of Christian and Muslim parents is a familiar trope in medieval Castilian literature. In the *Poema de Fernán González*, Prince Mudarra is the son of Gonzalo Gustios and a Muslim courtier woman, in some versions the sister of the Hajib Almanzor himself (Menéndez Pidal, 220–1 and 262; Lathrop). The narrator attributes both his outstanding moral character and physical beauty to his Christian heritage, which eventually "wins" out over his Muslim heritage and makes him a Christian hero. Likewise, the Muslim Abenámar (i.e., Ibn 'Ammar), protagonist of the abovementioned ballad, was born of a Christian mother who told him never to lie (Díaz Roig 93–4). Like Flores, who took in moral excellence along with the "Christian milk" of the countess, these protagonists embody the dream of conquest and conversion that was the dominant ideology of the times.

**The Lost Arabic Manuscript**

The author of *Flores y Blancaflor* attributes the chapters on the tale of the eponymous lovers to a writer he calls *Sigiberto*, whom he describes as a "a learned man who wrote this story in Arabic."[33] David Arbesú-Fernández explains that the *Estoria de España*

> continually asserts throughout the text that the author of the legend is a man by the name of Sigiberto, or in other instances, that the source for

> the narrative ... is a book dealing with the history of the Moorish kings of Africa who ruled over Spain [MS. *estoria que fizo de los reyes moros que ouo en Africa que aseñorearon a españa*]. Further references to this story are confusing, since they either affirm that Sigiberto composed the story of Flores and Blancaflor ... that he copied it in(to) Arabic, or even that he translated it from Arabic into, supposedly, Spanish. Most interestingly, the manuscript also affirms that Sigiberto was a citizen of Cordova present at the coronation of Flores and Blancaflor. (Arbesú-Fernández, Introduction 27)

Critics are divided over whether Sigiberto's source text is real or fictional, but in any case we see once again the medieval trope of translation from a found manuscript. In this case, however, the suggestion is that an Andalusi Christian living in Cordova wrote the story in Arabic and/or translated it into Spanish. Arbesú-Fernández does not explore the idea that it may have been an actual Arabic source text written in the early years of Umayyad rule – and rightly so, because there is no evidence to support this idea, as much as it seems to fit with the compiler's logic.

Some critics identify Sigiberto as the twelfth-century French monk Sigibert of Gemloux, author of a number of influential, frequently cited historical chronicles of the dynasties of powerful kingdoms and empires.[34] We have no manuscript of Sigibert's *Estoria de los señorios de la Africa*, though authors of texts contemporary with *Flores y Blancaflor* cite Sigibert's work (Catalán, "*Reyes*" 349). Putting aside for the moment the question of whether or not Sigibert's text is real, for a discussion of the relationship of the fictional story of *Flores y Blancaflor* to the historical material in the text, the more central concern is why the compiler would attribute plainly fictional material to an author who made his reputation writing non-fiction prose. Diego Catalán explains that *Flores y Blancaflor* is more fictional and more novelized than other contemporary works of historiography because the author was a monk, not a court writer. He sees *Flores y Blancaflor* as a new kind of historiography, of "monastic inspiration, less learned, not very respectful of historical truth, [and] clearly set down the road of novelization," whereas the court histories of Alfonso X and Sancho IV were more scientific, more learned, and more respectful of "historical truth."[35]

If this is the case, if we believe that monastic history (the genre to which Catalán proposes we pay increased attention) is more fiction-prone, perhaps it *was* Sigibert who inserted *Flores y Blancaflor* into the *Estoria de España*. However, the fact that many of the details peculiar to the *Castilan version* do not appear in the other (French) versions of *Floire et Blancheflor* which for the French Sigibert author would have been

more proximate, complicates the hypothesis. What, then, is at stake? If the French monk Sigibert blended the story of the eponymous lovers with the accounts of Fines's dynasty in Almería (also fictitious), how to explain that none of the other examples of Sigibert's work mentioned in *Crónica de Castilla* and the other texts mentioned by Catalán are so boldly fictitious?

The safer bet is that the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century compiler *attributed* the fictional interpolations to Sigibert, while knowing full well they were his own invention. If this is the case, we have here a bit of pre-Cervantine deconstruction of historiography in general, an early "found manuscript" trope all the more inventive for naming a (mostly) historical manuscript as the source for his fictional material. If the monastic chronicle (*crónica monacal*) such as those of Sigibert already had acquired a reputation for liberal novelization of historical events and figures, the introduction of a well-known fictional narrative such as *Flores y Blancaflor* into a historical chronicle (and attributed to Sigibert) might have been a way to *mock* Sigibert and other clerical chroniclers whose non-scientific approach (when contrasted with, say Alfonsine writers) was laughable for Sancho's court. That is, the compiler may simply be having a bit of fun: "I'll put *Flores y Blancaflor* in the middle of this account of the eighth century and blame it on that hack Sigibert." Whatever the compiler's intention, the act of combining the fictional tale into the chronicle is quite distinct from the mythological elements in other contemporary chronicles such as *El Caballero del Cisne* (intercalated in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*). While *Cisne* links the ruling house to the mythological traditions of quasi-divine descent, *Flores y Blancaflor* is using a different kind of fiction to lay claim to a historical (but equally mythologized) Carolingian legacy.[36]

**Analogical Fiction**

The philosopher Hans Vaihinger theorized that fictions are essential to humanity in working out the difference between what we want (myth, fantasy) and what our actual circumstances are (science, history). As a philosopher he postulated that fiction is what enables us to carry out scientific inquiry. Hypotheses, after all, are exactly that – fictions, fantasies of what we think the world should be like, scientific myths that sometimes do and sometimes do not correspond with reality. Preindustrial societies observed the world and drew mythic, narrative hypotheses that explained natural phenomena. Despite the evolution of human belief systems from localized pagan religion (Greek gods, Norse gods, etc) to universal myths and narratives (monotheistic prophecy,

scholastic science, historical chronicles), humans still exercise their mythic capacity, expressing it in different ways (12–15, 27).

The taste for novelized history and for allegory come together in *Flores y Blancaflor* in the metaphor of the religious conversion of Flores and the kingdom of Almería. Sharon Kinoshita has written on several romances of conversion in the medieval French tradition written during the twelfth century, including *La prise d'Orange*, *Le charroi de Nimes*, *Floire et Blancheflor*, and *Aucassin et Nicolette*. According to her, these romances depicting the conversion of a Muslim royal to Christianity are born of a historical border anxiety that is resuscitated in the age of the crusades when Carolingian legends about conflict with Islam are pressed into the service of the contemporary struggle with Islam (*Boundaries* 81–5). French versions of *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolette* are "orientalizing," in that they represent an embodied encounter with the East. In some such cases, the body of the Muslim woman stands in for the desire for territorial and spiritual conquest.

However, the case of Spain is different. While French monarchs and nobles contended with Islamic political power in the eastern Mediterranean, Iberian Christians were engaged in struggling with political Islam at home. This had technically been the case since the earliest campaigns of the Asturian kings against Umayyad forces. However, by the eleventh century such efforts were backed by papal bulls of crusade and by the twelfth, by church and court historiographies that framed such conflict in terms of holy war (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 24–33; Goñí Gaztambide).

**History/Fiction**

The most compelling problem about this text is not simply the representation of conversion, but the tension between the fictional tale of the eponymous lovers with the chapters of Iberian history with which it is interwoven in the text.[37] Although Arbesú-Fernández establishes that the compiler of the twelfth-century chronicle *Liber regum* viewed the tale as a genealogy of Charlemagne, its conflation with Peninsular historical events in the *Estoria de Espanna* presents some very interesting problems in terms of the work's fictionality. He points out that the fusion of the narrative of the two lovers with local political history "significantly [shapes] the text of the legend."[38] I argue that it is precisely this contextualization in local history that magnifies the work's value as fiction, the symbolic work it performs as a piece of alternative history in service of contemporary (with the *Estoria de Espanna*) ideologies of crusade, conquest, and conversion, as we will see in the analysis that

follows. The origin of the story is rooted in pseudohistory and resonates with other foundational narratives of Castilian hegemony with interesting sidebars of mixed marriages and their offspring.

In the beginning, the Christian countess, Berta, newly widowed, just happens to be on a pilgrimage to Santiago (in fulfilment of a vow) when King Fines is ravaging Galicia: "He arrived in Galicia, and went out and raided the entire land, causing much damage and killing many Christians, and burned many villages and robbed the entire land, earning many cattle, sheep, and many other things."[39] The raids in Galicia, probably intended to represent the incursions in Galicia by Umayyad forces, also resonate with the tenth-century raid on Santiago by Almanzor, who regularly harassed the Christian kingdoms and even sacked the shrine at Santiago de Compostela (though according to legend left the tomb of the apostle intact).[40]

The countess is taken captive by Fines and brought back to Almería, where she gives birth to Blancaflor. Here the interference with the Almanzor narrative continues. In the legend of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, the Christian hero Gonzalo Gustios is held captive by Almanzor in Cordova. However, his captor has so much esteem for the Christian knight that he provides Gustios with his own sister as a companion. Gustios fathers a child with her, Mudarra, before his release and return to Castile. Mudarra, once he comes of age, converts to Christianity and goes off in search of his father.[41] In both cases (Mudarra, fathered by a Christian captive in Cordova, and Blancaflor, born to a captive Christian mother in Almería), the mixed heritage is one in which the Christian component prevails, and the most heroic and noble traits of the hero are ascribed to his or her Christian heritage. In the case of Flores, his eventual conversion to Christianity is presented as biologically determined. Because his own mother died in childbirth, the French countess (Blancaflor's mother) offers to nurse him together with her own daughter: "and so the captive countess raised both of them in this way with great pleasure, and lay them in one bed and loved them very much, the son of her Lord as much as her own daughter. And so the two were raised together until they reached the age of ten years."[42]

The countess's milk is what eventually predisposes Flores to convert to Christianity "for the nature of the Christian milk moved him to that" (*ca la naturaleza de la leche de la Cristiana lo mouio a ello*). His eventual decision to convert is then *natural*, and explained in terms of the science and theology of the day. It is also a precursor to the biological theories of race underpinning the laws of blood purity (*estatutos de limpieza de sangre*) that would come to be so important in shaping Spanish society in the fifteenth century and forward.[43] Arbesú-Fernández points out

that this detail of the story is present only in the Castilian version and in the Norwegian version that is thought to derive from the Castilian.[44] This suggests that Castilian writers were already forming biological theories of religious identity independently of their peers across the Pyrenees more than a century before the "*estatutos de limpieza de sangre*" made them a legal reality.[45]

The metaphor of the Christian and Muslim milk siblings who eventually unite to bring Iberia under a Christian king (with a French pedigree, just as the French leadership of eastern crusade dominated the crusader movement, and just as Cluny and French secular churchmen came to dominate the Iberian church in the age of crusade) represents a common culture and common origin for Muslim and Iberian Christians, but one with a predestined outcome: universal Christianity leading to harmony and prosperity.[46]

The milk siblings Flores and Blancaflor share an education at court in Almería that includes Latin, Greek, and Arabic:

> According to Sigibert, a learned man who translated this story of Flores and Blancaflor from Arabic, [he] said that these children were so intelligent that in six years they learned to speak Greek (*logica*) and to speak Latin, and Arabic as well. In Latin they wrote love lyrics that they both very much enjoyed, so that they loved one another even more, in addition to the fact that they were born on the same day, were raised together, nursed the same milk, ate and drank together, and slept in the same bed.[47]

There are two interesting details in this passage. The first is the trilingual Greek/Latin/Arabic curriculum at the Muslim court of Almería, reported by a narrator writing in Arabic (the language from which Sigiberto is said to have translated the story). This is perhaps a nod to the multicultural intellectual life of al-Andalus, but one in which the love poetry is written in Latin, not Arabic, suggesting that the true cultural centre of the Peninsula, even under Muslim rule, is expressed in Latin. Just as the siblings are nursed by "Christian" milk, they are likewise raised on a "Western" curriculum. And it is the Latin, not Arabic love lyrics that most move them emotionally. In this way they are a fictional response to the (now) famous complaint of the tenth-century Christian cleric Alvarus of Cordova, who wrote that the Christian youths of his city Cordova committed endless Arabic verses to memory but were incapable of writing a proper letter in Latin (Dodds, "Spaces" 83).

As Flores and Blancaflor reach adolescence, their love begins to turn romantic. This is problematic, for Blancaflor is the daughter of a Christian captive and hardly a fit match for a Muslim prince. They send Flores

away to Montor, to the household of the queen's sister, Doña Sevilla, so that he will forget Blancaflor and fall in love with a nice Muslim girl. Fines insists that they must "try by all means in the world to make him forget about Blancaflor, and fall in love with another who might become his wife, a pagan of our religion. For it seems to me unbecoming that our son marry the child of a Christian."[48]

The narrative thus establishes the tension characteristic of the Byzantine novels it is thought by some to imitate: the lovers are separated and the hero's journey made plain. From this point forward the narrative alternates between the Iberian Peninsula and the wider Mediterranean world (France, Rome, Byzantium, the Muslim East) and alternates with chronicle chapters detailing the deeds of the Christian kings of Asturias.

The broader geographical framework of the Flores and Blancaflor story from this point forward, extending south to north Africa and Egypt (*Babilonia*) and eastward to Baghdad (and as we have discussed in previous chapters), mirrors the geographic imaginary of crusade that supported Christian pilgrimage, armed and otherwise, into the Muslim lands of north Africa and the Levant. Iberian fictions like *Flores y Blancaflor* and (as we will see in the following chapter) *Tirant lo Blanc* used pan-Mediterranean settings to unite in the actions of the hero the Iberian, African, and Levantine theatres of crusade in an effort to bring the importance of Iberian crusading efforts to the level of those carried out in Egypt and Tunis (particularly by Louis IX) and in the eastern Mediterranean.

Flores's first stop links Iberia to the Levant. At the suggestion of his father Fines, he travels to the court of his grandfather, the Umayyad caliph Ysca Miramomelin,[49] to see if Blancaflor might be found somewhere in his kingdom. The narrator writes that the Cordovan Umayyad emir's replacement, Abd al-Malik, has turned out to be a real disappointment. He rules unjustly and is abusive, particularly against the few Christians in al-Andalus, but also against his Muslim subjects:

> Instead of ruling justly, he confounded them and put them in a difficult position. Such things began to be common practice in Spain against those few Christians who remained in Muslim-ruled territories, and even against subject Muslims, so that the wounds that were not yet healed from the past abuses [of the previous emir] were reopened anew under the current ruler.[50]

The (less corrupt) Umayyad caliph in Damascus, in response, orders Fines to replace the corrupt emir in Cordova making Flores *infante* (crown prince) of all Spain. This is significant in a crusade-reading of

*Flores y Blancaflor* for two reasons. One, writers supporting crusader efforts often justified military action as retaliation for poor treatment of subject Christians. We have seen in the introduction an excellent example of this in the bull of crusade in Spain written by Calixtus II (as well as the fictional one included in the *Pseudo-Turpin*). In addition, this portrayal of corrupt ruler and establishment of Flores's eventual succession to the throne of the Andalusi emirate foreshadows his destiny as the first Christian ruler of all al-Andalus.

Flores continues his quest to find Blancaflor, travelling south to "*Babilonia*," a name often used in medieval Christian sources to refer to Egypt. There the caliph of Babilonia receives him lavishly. Eventually Blancaflor, in captivity in the tower, hears of her lover Flores's arrival in the East with a large company of knights.

The narration then returns to the historical record of King Alfonso's rule. Uqbal (*Ocha*) replaces the corrupt emir Abd al-Malik, and rules for five years.[51]

> This Ocha was a very learned man in his religion and in the genealogy of the Arabs, and because he was so pious and observant, he was feared and respected by all. The first thing he did in Spain was to imprison Abdelmelic, who reigned before him, and cast him in chains. Under the advice of King Fines, the son of his lord, he exiled the ministers and the governers that he had appointed, and made all Muslims observe their religion, but at the same time demanded very high taxes and tributes from the people, so that he became very rich.[52]

Fines warns him of a gathering uprising. Ocha goes to Africa to raise troops. When he comes back to pacify Cordova Fines advises him to kill the rebels, and thus Ocha is able to re-establish order in his kingdom (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 78). At this point the narrative turns back to the history of the Asturian kings, but inserts a brief excursus on the Carolingian dynasty, ostensibly reinforcing the links between Charlemagne's ancestors both fictional (Flores and Blancaflor) and historical:

> From the tenth to the thirteenth year of the reign of King Alfonso "The Catholic" there is nothing to tell as pertains to history, except that in the twelfth year Carloman [uncle of Charlemagne, king of France left the kingdom to his brother King Pepin [father of Charlemagne]. He went to Rome to Pope Zachary so that he might grant him the habit of the Order of Saint Benedict, and the pope did so. Carloman dwelled first in the monastery that is in Mount San Silvestre, that he built, and there lived a very holy life.

> Afterwards he went to the monastery of Montesino where he lived out his last days in the service of God. In this year the Muslims had a great battle among themselves.[53]

This insertion seems almost haphazard. The narrator fills what he describes as a gap in local events, filling it with the details of Carloman's last years and the succession to Pepin, which coincides with turmoil in al-Andalus. What is the connection between Andalusi turmoil and Charlemagne's family history? Why showcase Carloman's piety at this point in the narrative? What does it have to do with Castile-Leon?

One answer is that it is an attempt to flesh out Charlemagne's pedigree as a hero of Iberian crusade.[54] On his father's side, he comes from a family of pious men such as Carloman, who spent his later years in monastic devotion, and on his mother's side there is Flores, who brought Christianity to al-Andalus in the years before Charlemagne's Andalusi campaigns. Fiction often serves to fill narrative gaps in ways that align known events with the desires and/or fears of the textual community. Here the gaps in Alfonso's reign are filled with historical events related to the fictional protagonist Fines.

Having made this connection, the narrative then turns back to Flores's adventures. The king of Babilonia sends Flores to pacify vassals who have intrigued against him with the caliph in return for helping him find Blancaflor. Flores is made king of Egypt; the caliph gives him a signet ring and talks about marrying him to the princess (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 75–9). The infante Don Daytes and his wife Licores agree to help Flores in his quest, and the three return to Babilonia. At this point the narrator returns his attention to Spain, right where he left off with his account of Carloman's later years:

> Thirteen years into the reign of King Alfonso the Catholic, in the year 784 CE, which was year 737 of the Incarnation of the Lord and the year 9 of the empire of Constantine, the story relates that while Prince Flores went in search of Blancaflor, King Fines was very worried until the Prince returned.[55]

At this point King Fines, not knowing if his son Flores was still living or not, named Abd al-Malik (Abdemelic) his successor, and the French king goes into the monastery, to be succeeded by Pepin (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 86). Here the narrator is careful to point out that "this King Pepin was married to Berta, son of Flores and Blancaflor, as the story will tell further on. But now the story leaves off telling about this and instead tells about Flores and Blancaflor."[56]

Here the linkage between romance and the political work of the historical record becomes clear. Flores's (Andalusi) gallantry and heroics is the only thing that allows Charlemagne to be born. The heroics subordinates the French line to Charlemagne's Andalusi/Hispanic heritage, while at the same time allegorizing the Christian conquest of the Peninsula in the person of Flores (who, like Charlemagne himself in France succeeds in Christianizing all of al-Andalus). This attributes his chivalric pedigree to an Andalusi convert. This Andalusi Christian pedigree of Charlemagne is combined with a dose of crusader heroism: Flores's journey to Babilonia to save Blancaflor is a fictional conflation of the rescue of holy places with that of the damsel in distress of medieval romance. While it is obviously historically impossible, as a fictional gambit it is a perfectly chivalric take on pilgrimage. If crusade is an armed *imitatio Christi* of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the "romancing" of this paradigm, Christ becomes the hero knight. The backdrop is the same Muslim East, but the damsel stands in for the soul of the Christian as the one who is saved.

Back in Babilonia, Daytes tells Flores that the guard at the tower where Blancaflor is kept is a gambling addict and can be swayed by a light hustle (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 88). Eventually Flores ingratiates himself with the guard and slips into the tower in a basket of flowers that the sultan gives to the damsels each April.[57] Blancaflor's companion in the tower in Babilonia is Gloris, daughter of a German duke (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 92). Here Flores is a Spanish hero rescuing the Christian daughters of France and Germany from captivity in the East, a perfect allegory for Spain's exceptionalist narrative of domestic crusade in a historical moment when Louis IX's candidacy for sainthood rested on his crusades in north Africa and his successful "recuperation" of Byzantine relics for the French church. Meanwhile, as the compiler of *Flores and Blancaflor* writes, Philip IV (r. 1284–1314) had plans to pacify Granada, regain Constantinople for the Latins, and take up the crusades anew in the Levant.[58]

The story then returns to Spain, laying the groundwork for Flores's eventual Christian triumph over what is shaping up to be an increasingly chaotic domestic Andalusi political scene. Ysca sends yet *another* new emir to pacify Spain, but grants exception to his cousin Fines in Almería. This Abucatar is killed by a rival who is in turn killed in battle with the Christians. The rest of the chapter and those following detail the political strife of the various Andalusi factions, including a popular uprising against Emir Yusuf ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri (r. 747–56).

The compiler is positioning Flores to set Spain right. He is coming of age during a time of great turmoil in his home country; however, his

base of power (his father's rule) appears to survive wave after wave of political turmoil due to his blood relation with the caliph in Damascus. It is speculative fiction: what might have happened if a Christian ruler (here one converted from Islam) had taken over Spain at this early junction. But how does this serve the purposes of Sancho IV, especially vis-à-vis his claims to the legacy of the Asturian kings at the turn of the fourteenth century?[59]

Meanwhile, Flores is earning his bona fides as an adventure hero and knight errant at the court of the caliph in Babilonia (Egypt), the scene of Louis IX's intended staging ground for conquest of the Levant, much the same way the leadership of the Fourth Crusade had planned to use Constantinople at the beginning of the century. In both cases the foreign court (which is grafted over from the medieval romance model as a place of both fostering and mettle-testing) is the stage upon which greatness unfolds. Just as history needs to be embodied for medieval audiences, historical memory of foreign exploits is here novelized to much the same end.

At times the text exploits a gap in the historical narrative to close it with fiction. The section describing the reign of Alfonso III "The Great" of Asturias (r. 866–910) is such an example. Here the compiler notes (either with annoyance or with anticipation, depending on how you imagine his identity as a fiction writer) that "during the eighteenth year of the reign of King Alfonso 'The Catholic' the only thing we find worth relating that pertains to the story, is where it speaks of Flores and Blancaflor."[60] That is, since there is nothing interesting happening here, we are going to fill in with another episode from our cliffhanger thriller.

And so, in the absence of any relevant information about the reign of Alfonso III, we learn that the lovers are pardoned and reconciled to the court, where they remain for three months, when Flores receives word that his mother has died. The story then turns back to the reign of Alfonso III, who in the nineteenth year of his reign has significantly increased Christian territories, established new bishoprics, and overall "worked very diligently in doing service to God and in maintaining his reign in peace and justice."[61] It is no accident that the compiler aligns the peak expansion of Alfonso III's reign with the death of Flores's father, King Fines. The story of Flores is the fiction that completes the crusade begun by Alfonso III, the fictional complement to Alfonso's accomplishment. The mention of Alfonso's success is Fines's cue to complete in the fictional world the work left unfinished in Alfonso's reality, namely, to complete the conversion of al-Andalus.[62]

However, before Flores can convert all of Spain to Christianity, he himself must convert. This sequence is set in motion during the lovers'

return trip to Almería, a journey that resonates with two narratives of crusade that circulated in Iberia: the first is that of the spiritual conversion of the crusader returning from the Levant, and the second is the journey of the Genoese fleet joining the siege of Almería (supposedly motivated by forced conversions of Christians to Islam). These two are blended with the very productive shipwreck motif so common to the Byzantine novel and other forms of medieval adventure fiction.[63]

The lovers wait two months for a ship to dock at Babilonia, after which they embark for home. They run into a terrible storm and are lost at sea. On the third day they come upon an island "on the middle of the Mediterranean (*el mar océano*), and is one of the islands to which the blessed confessor Saint Bernard went."[64] On this island is a community of some hundred and fifty Augustinian monks who fear for their lives ("*ovieron muy grand miedo que les querían fazer algunt mal*") when the Muslims land and come ashore (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 116). Luckily for them, however, Flores's second-hand experience of Christianity through Blancaflor and her mother has made him tolerant and respectful of Christianity, and thus he treats the abbot and his monks with the respect due to all religious.[65] That very night Blancaflor is inspired to return to Christianity, the religion of her biological parents:

> Once Blancaflor realized how those good men were Christians, she remembered her mother telling her whose daughter she was, and how they used to be Christians. And since then she had it in her heart to be a Christian, if ever she were in a place where she might do so. One night, she discussed it with Prince Flores, her lord, telling him that he must understand that they had only survived all the dangers and made it safely to the island because Jesus wanted them to be Christians so that they might die in his holy religion, and that he beseeched them, now that they were in a place where they could, to do so for the sake of his love.[66]

Saint Augustine himself appears in a vision to the monks, to put the lovers' conversion into local historical context, saying that it was, in fact, God's will that all of Flores's Muslim troops become Christians, and that he wanted this to happen for the love of Blancaflores's mother, "who was captured in his service."[67] Therefore, Augustine explains, "I would like to reward her daughter by making her Christian and making her descendents kings of France, who might always serve him."[68] With these words, St Augustine links the prestige of the Carolingian lineage to Iberian pilgrimage (to Santiago) and crusade (conversion of al-Andalus), achieved not through military power (as in the Carolingian epic cycle), but through romance and conversion. This

means that Charlemagne (and Louis IX and Philip IV by extension) are good Christians because Flores was so valiant in saving Blancaflor. Allegorically, the idea is that valiant Spain, having saved both itself and Blancaflor from Islam, has delivered the whole West with the blessing of St Augustine himself. This places Iberia at the vanguard of the crusading movement, as the historic and spiritual origin of Charlemagne's Christianity.[69] It is an Iberia that stands as Europe's bulwark against Islam, an Iberia defined, as in so many crusading-era miraculous tales, as one whose Christianity is defined in opposition to Islam.[70]

Before taking his leave, Augustine makes a more global prediction about mass conversion to Christianity, taking a page from Ramon Llull's grandiose vision of world mission:

> And after Saint Augustine had said this, he said more: that another time the lord of those Muslims (Flores) and that woman (Blancaflor) would come to ask for baptism, and that they would preach to the others and show them the belief of Jesus Christ, and everything would be as he had said. And once Saint Augustine had said this and explained it, he returned to heaven whence he came.[71]

Inspired by Augustine, Flores and Blancaflor ask the prior to baptize them, which he does. They stay on the island with the monks for an additional three months, but eventually need to leave, because the ship's (still Muslim) crew is starving, and the monks will not share their provisions with them. In fact, those unconverted among the crew who try to steal from the prior's provisions are miraculously struck blind (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 119–20). Gaydon, Flores's teacher, does not convert on the island because he does not want to be forced (he is hungry, after all), but later converts of his own free will, and on a full stomach, in Cordova.[72] The rest of Flores's troops relent and take baptism, at which point (except for Gaydon, of course), the prior feeds them and gives them something to drink before the wind picks up and they are able to depart. The prior gives the company a letter certifying everything that happened on the island and sends it to Rome, where it is passed to Don Guarin, the papal legate who came to certify the churches of al-Andalus (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 120). They all promise to keep the conversion a secret until Flores becomes king of Almería.

Flores returns to Almería, where Fines explains that he has had trouble maintaining the kingdom with the various emirs that have been sent from Damascus, but that things are now stable. They are summoned to Cordova, and Blancaflor stays in Almería with her mother. In Cordova,

Fines crowns Flores king of Andalusia and the Algarve at court. A year later Fines dies, and Flores announces his conversion, which at first surprises but later inspires much of the kingdom to convert.[73] After the mass conversion, the royal couple hold their wedding. Flores then asks King Fruela (sending him the letter he received from the prior on the island) to intercede on their behalf with Rome to send a bishop to al-Andalus and the Algarve who might convert the mosques into churches.[74] Bishop Guarin orders King Fruela to convene court and crown Flores king. In Leon they hold council to confirm the bishopric Flores requested. They meet in Cordova, where the king orders all the people to assemble for the coronation of Flores and Blancaflor, the baptism of Berta and the confirmation of all. At this point Gaydon (Flores's teacher) relents and accepts baptism under the name Augustine (*Agostin*). Emir Yuçaf Alchari is naturally upset and orders Flores to leave for Christian lands if he wants to stay alive. Flores wins the ensuing conflict, reducing Cordova to a tributary kingdom and increasing his own territory considerably. However, this Christian al-Andalus does not last long. Flores's reign lasts only eighteen years, after which, according to the chronicle, "all the land was lost and Muslims who then came conquered it."[75] In so doing, the compiler signals that he will, in fact, bring the fantasy of a Christian al-Andalus to a close and return us to our own reality timeline.

But not just yet: first there is some fictional/historiographical housekeeping to take care of. In chapters 28–9 the compiler links various Andalusi kings with figures from Carolingian epic: Fines helps to drive back the African upstart invaders (*reuellados*) and most important, the compiler identifies two Muslim kings with their avatars in the Carolingian cycles: Hixen (Hisham "el rey Galafre") of Toledo, whose daughter Halia (Sevilla Galiana) marries Carlos el Grand of France; and Abraen of Zaragoza, who is the Carolingian "Bramante" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 132–3).

Then, Yuçaf Alchari asks Flores to go out against Hixen of Toledo; Flores asks Fruela of Asturias to join him. Fruela and Flores reduce Toledo and Zaragoza to client states allowing Kings Hixen and Abraen to keep their crowns. Flores returns to Almería but soon launches a campaign against north Africa, winning Salé (*Zale*) and Tangiers (*Tanjer*). Arbesú-Fernández notes that it was Yuçaf Alchari who made these conquests, "so that the compiler is attributing to the fictional character the deeds of the real one."[76]

The compiler ends this section, mentioning that the narrator "leaves off speaking of this story to tell how his daughter, Princess Berta (Charlemagne's mother), was married to King Pepin of France and

Germany."[77] Charlemagne's Andalusi genealogy is meant, in the era of the crusading kings Louis IX and Philip IV, to portray the French emperor as a crusader whose Iberian campaigns were matched by his fictional yet widely diffused pilgrimage/crusade to Jerusalem. This legacy in turn legitimized the crusader kingdoms of the Levant by establishing Charlemagne's bona fides as a crusader in both the Iberian and Eastern theatres.[78] By grafting an Iberian genealogy onto Charlemagne's family tree, Castile lays claim to Charlemagne's legacy both as (indigenous) crusaders against Iberian Islam and as the rightful heirs to the Holy Roman Empire. Locally, the idea may have been to shore up Sancho IV's claims on territories disputed with France. Sancho was fighting over Navarre with Philip IV "The Fair," so a Carolingian lineage brought – even fictionally – under the House of Castile may have been a way to legitimate Castile's claims to Navarre and Gascony.

In this context, *Flores y Blancaflor* is not simply a way for audiences to enact a fantasy of conquest and crusade, it is an allegorization of Iberian history, very carefully woven into the historical record of the events it allegorizes. The tale *Flores y Blancaflor* is sandwiched between the history of the Asturian kings and the conquest of al-Andalus. Its chapters alternate between the story of the two lovers and the struggle of the Asturian kings to move their border with al-Andalus south. Thus the allegory of the love story between Christian and Muslim is textually fused with the foundational narrative of Christian Spain.[79] It is the fantastic fulfilment to the trajectory of loss (711) and the first glimmers of recuperation of an originary Christian Iberia. Given the vast gap in historicity between the Christian and Muslim versions of the Pelayo incident, the storybook ending proposed here is hardly less "realistic" than the Asturian chronicles' account of Pelayo's encounter with the Umayyad forces at Covadonga.[80]

This tight weave of chronicle and romance is hardly unique to the *Estoria de España.* As we have mentioned, medieval chroniclers did not make the same generic distinctions as do moderns between "history" and "fiction," and in *Secular Scripture,* Northrop Frye reminds us that romance satisfies very deep-seated desires for order and for moral simplification. It is neither surprising nor rare, therefore, that romances be so readily pressed into political service. However, in this case, the romance does not simply "masquerade" as history, but rather becomes an allegory for local history.[81]

In closing, the *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* teaches us a number of things about fictional narrative and society in late medieval Christian Iberia. In it we see that romance, far from being a literary genre in the modern sense, was a perfectly acceptable option for representing the

history of the court. In the kingdom of Castile-Leon this was a local history that sought to rival France and to represent itself as the legitimate heir to the twin legacies of Charlemagne and the Umayyad caliphate. The former was a matter of genealogy, achieved by the kidnapping of the French countess in Galicia. The latter is a bit more complicated, for the political and cultural grandeur represented by the caliphate must first be stripped of its Islamic character. This is achieved in the narrative first by the Christian milk of the countess and later by the conversion tale of Fines. In both cases the chronicler deploys the affective resources of fiction in order to lend credibility and coherence to a complicated political and religious problem, by which the complex history of the eighth through thirteenth centuries in the Iberian Peninsula becomes a tale of *boy meets girl, boy loses girl, boy converts for girl.*

This innovative blending of the historical and the fictional worlds of crusade, conquest, and Arthurian romance reach new heights in *Tirant*, in which the mythical, the historical, and the fictional achieve an ever-tighter weave, as we crest the edge of modernity. *Tirant* widens the scope of the crusader imaginary, keeping its ideological centre in Iberia but playing on a pan-Mediterranean stage ranging from north Africa to Constantinople and points east.

# 5 Fiction and History in *Tirant lo Blanch* (Valencia, 1490)

*Tirant lo Blanch*, begun by Valencian knight Joanot de Martorell in the mid-fifteenth century and completed and published by Joan de Galba in Valencia in 1490, is the story of the knight Tirant, whose adventures span from England to north Africa to Constantinople, where he is eventually crowned Caesar, and second-in-command of the empire.[1] The novel, in part an Iberian adaptation of the Arthurian tradition, opens the Arthurian world to the Mediterranean political canvas of Martorell's times. In it, Martorell and Galba give voice to Valencian dreams of renewed Christian expansion in the eastern Mediterranean and north Africa, fears of Ottoman incursion into the western Mediterranean, and the question of conversion in the Iberian Peninsula. The book is a fusion of Arthurian-inspired knightly ideals, nostalgia for the crusading era, and the geopolitics of the late fifteenth century (Gracia 25–6).

In the prologue, the authors explain that *Tirant* draws on historiography, epic, hagiography, and chivalric romance, effectively putting the reader on notice that this work is a fiction with deep roots in the most important narrative genres of the times:

> We also study the battles of Alexander and Darius, the adventures of Lancelot and other knights, the versified histories of Virgil, Ovid, Dante, and other poets, the holy miracles and wondrous acts of the Apostles, martyrs, and other saints, the penitence of Saint John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, Saint Paul the Hermit, Saint Anthony, Saint Onophrius and Saint Mary of Egypt. Innumerable stories have been compiled lest they fade from memory.[2]

Martorell here is telling us what he is going to be doing in the body of the work: drawing on multiple storyworlds with the aim of showing us something true, of illustrating core values with examples of great

deeds, not of historical figures and saints, but of a fictional amalgam comprising the best aspects (and in some cases, the best actions themselves) of a variety of heroic figures, historic and fictional. The artful weaving of historiography and fictional material that we saw in *Flores y Blancaflor* here is brought to a higher art form: the Arthurian world of Martorell's adaptation of the Guy of Warwick legend blends seamlessly into *Tirant*'s pan-Mediterranean universe that brings together the eastern Mediterranean, land of both the now nostalgic crusades and the more recent Ottoman threat, with Iberia itself, the last frontier of the medieval crusades. If *Flores y Blancaflor*'s goal is to elevate Castile's crusader credentials to the level of those of Louis IX, *Tirant* goes further: it is a more ambitiously capacious crusader storyworld twisting Arthurian, crusading, and early modern geopolitical threads into a new fictional world that puts a Christian Iberian hero with impeccable Arthurian credentials at the cutting edge of fighting Islam at home and abroad.

The chivalric context of crusading in *Tirant* gets a boost from a guest spot by none other than Arthur himself.[3] The appearance by Arthur, in the form of a medieval dream vision in which an important figure from biblical or classical tradition appears to dispense wisdom, is here novelized.[4] Despite obvious anachronism and storyworld convergence, Arthur's appearance legitimizes *Tirant* as a work of chivalric fiction even as Martorell and Galba strive to push the boundaries of the genre to better serve the interests of their audience.

Lourdes Soriano Robles writes that Martorell "evokes the mythical past of knighthood" (181) in an attempt to recuperate the prestige of the institution in a time when economic and military changes threatened its prestige. He does this by introducing Arthurian material drawn both from the *Guillem de Varoic* as well as material from the *Prose Lancelot* and *Mort de Roi Artu* adapted from a dramatic *entremés* (interlude) composed in Provençal by Majorcan Guillem Torroella and performed in Constantinople in 1375 (Gracia 25–6). Luis Nicolau d'Olwer holds that Martorell himself is the author of *Guillem de Varoic*. According to him, during Martorell's stay in London, the public display of the arms of Guy's recently deceased descendent, the count of Warwick Richard de Beauchamp (d. 1438), inspired Martorell to write, in imitation of Llull's *Cavalleria*, his own novelized treatise on knighthood, based on the English *Guy of Warwick* tradition (d'Olwer 137).

Book 1 of *Tirant* is a rescension of the Arthurian sequel *Guy of Warwick*, onto which the adventures of Tirant himself are skilfully welded.[5] The melding of Arthurian and Mediterranean storyworlds is meant to legitimate Valencian knights within the chivalric culture

of Western Christendom, while attending to the geopolitical concerns of Aragon, which faced the Mediterranean world. This projection of current-day affairs onto the legendary British past is a way for Iberian writers to participate in the narrative culture of Western Christendom while tailoring the history-making function of romance to their own historical particularity. In the novel, Martorell and Galba project contemporary anxieties over the loss of Aragonese territories to Ottoman expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, imagining a fictional Christian "Reconquest" of the former Byzantine capital at a time when Latin Christendom feared Ottoman incursion into the West.[6]

As in other Iberian romances adapted from English and French models, Martorell and Galba here populate a chivalric world that is a fusion of the Arthurian and the historic with particularly Iberian ideologies of conquest and conversion, relying heavily on the ideas of Majorcan thinker and theologian Ramon Llull for their representation of knighthood. At the same time they project onto a fairly realistic Mediterranean the ideological and political problems particular to fifteenth-century Valencia.[7]

However, despite the strong flavour of crusader culture that accompanies the Llullian-Arthurian material and parts of the historical reality represented by the various Mediterranean locations, the actual military and political solutions devised by Tirant in his role first as general and diplomat are more characteristic of an empire in rapid expansion than of an embattled crusader state. Tirant is neither truly a knight itinerant, like Guy of Warwick, nor a crusader, like the ideal knight envisioned by Ramon Llull in *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*.[8] He more closely resembles historical figures, especially Roger de Flor, captain of the Catalan Company of *almogàvers*, who successfully waged numerous campaigns in the Byzantine east in the early fourteenth century.[9] This reflects Spain's role at the time of *Tirant*'s publication as an expanding empire, caught between Portugal (Africa and Asia) on one side, and between Nasrid Granada and the Ottoman Empire on the other.

## The Role of Romance in History

Romance has always filled in the gaps in historiography, in the sense that it has served a purpose similar to that of *Midrash*, or Jewish narrative exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, in which authors expand on biblical narrative to solve problems or answer questions posed by a narrative that suggests more than it demonstrates. This means that since its inception in the twelfth century (at least in western Europe), the romance has served a parahistoriographical function, filling in

the gaps and explaining the inconsistencies in the historical record. In Monsterrat Piera's words, romance is "a response to an ever-changing historico-political configuration" ("Performing Knighthood" 353–4). As such, it is no surprise that a French romance written in the late twelfth century should differ significantly from one written in Valencia in the late fifteenth. It is not simply a question of a more sophisticated or evolved sense of literary fiction (the way we tend to think when we think of the history of the novel), but rather it is society itself that has become more sophisticated and complex, and literary fiction reflects this change.

It is also clear that medievals did not have the same expectation of historical objectivity or verisimilitude that we expect today. Barbara Fuchs writes that the romance is not intended to reflect the historical record as does historiographical writing, but rather has "a different purchase on the truth" (103). At the same time, for a twelfth-century audience, a chronicle and a romance were not altogether different animals, but rather were situated on a spectrum that ranged from fantasy to court history. The current term "historical fiction" might have applied equally well to the romance as to the chronicle. By the end of the fifteenth century, there are chronicles containing brazenly fictional episodes, such as the fifteenth-century *Crónica sarracina*,[10] and romances with perfectly historical content, such as *Tirant*. In short, historical truth claims were not limited to the chronicle but were perfectly acceptable in narrative fiction. At the same time, authors increasingly adapted the literary conventions of the romance for works in other genres, such as the chronicle and the memoir.[11] If the job of historiography is to impose a coherent narrative onto the mess of reality and experience, then what better genre than the romance to tell history? Or, taken a step further, if the chronicle is the record of a state or of a court, *Tirant* is the fictional parahistory of a life spent on the battlefield, at tournaments, and at court.

**Nostalgia for Aragonese Expansion**

One of the roles of medieval Iberian fiction is political and spiritual wish fulfilment. It is a record not so much of what has happened but what you wish would happen, if only. As we will discuss, several medieval Iberian romances fantasize about a Christian East, whether neo-Byzantine, crusader state, or a mix of the two. This fantasy is sometimes conflated with the domestic fantasy of a Christian al-Andalus or Maghreb. Tirant achieves all of these, knitting together preoccupations with Islam past and current, domestic and regional.

Martorell begins by portraying an Arthurian Britain under siege by the Saracen king of the Canary Islands. Martín de Riquer explains this ahistorical scenario, stating that medieval Christian Iberian writers refer to all sorts of historical non-Christians as "moors (*moros*)" (30). However, I believe that Martorell is making a statement here, not just defaulting to a shopworn catchall term for non-Christians. He is far too familiar with Iberian crusading culture for that to be true.[12] I think he is purposefully putting the Arthurian world into communication with the Christian Iberian experience in order to fuse the literary imaginary of the world that produced Western Latin chivalry with that of Martorell's own time and place. Riquer notes that knights in Martorell's time lived "literarily," that is, they patterned their behaviour after representations of chivalry in romances ("Martorell"). The practice of chivalry was passing from battlefield to tournament, and the aesthetics of chivalry were therefore shaped more by ritual tradition and ideology and less by military exigency. It was, in his day, an institution whose value was more symbolic than strategic.[13]

The fictional world portrayed by Valencians Martorell and Galba is specifically Aragonese as opposed to Castilian. The Crown of Aragon had always looked to the Mediterranean, and was home to important port cities such as Barcelona, Palma de Majorca, and Valencia. Barcelona, in its maritime heyday, was known as the "Queen of the Sea," and Majorca had long been an important trade centre and military base. In fact, the Crown of Aragon during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had come to control a significant maritime empire in the eastern Mediterranean, an empire that, like the Venetian and the Genoese projects, was fuelled far more by commercial interests than by crusading zeal. The Crown and nobility themselves engaged directly in trade in ways that were practically unthinkable in the Castilian context.[14]

Of particular interest for the study of *Tirant* in its Mediterranean context, and especially for its re-imagining of a Christian (Latin) Byzantium, is the legendary figure of Catalan military leader Roger de Flor. In 1303, Roger de Flor and his Catalan Company (consisting of some 1,500 knights, 4,000 almogavers, and 1,000 foot soldiers travelling in thirty galleys) arrived in Byzantium. His plan was to exploit Byzantine anxieties over the gathering Ottoman threat for the greater glory of the Company, of Aragon, and, of course, himself. De Flor embarked on an aggressive political and military program, securing for himself the title of Imperial Megaduke and marriage to a Byzantine princess, all of which figures in Martorell's historical fiction. This was fine fodder for a fifteenth-century literary fantasy of Aragonese supremacy, but in

the real fourteenth century, the Genoese colony, well established in the Byzantine Empire, found it threatening. Aragonese power in Byzantium continued to wax once De Flor convinced the emperor to grant him the title of Caesar, passing the megadukedom to his compatriot and Catalan aristocrat Berenguer de Enteza, who arrived in Gallipoli with 300 additional knights and some 1,000 almogavers. The political and military ascendancy of these Aragonese interlopers was too much for the imperial Prince Michael, who in 1305 assassinated De Flor and many of his Catalans at a banquet to which he had invited them. This event precipitated the spectacularly violent "Catalan Revenge," in which the surviving Catalan knights and almogavers, now under the command of Berenguer de Entenza, went on a bloody rampage throughout Thrace and Macedonia. This episode was famously chronicled by Bernat Desclot and Ramon de Muntaner, whose accounts earned the fierce almogavers pride of place in the Aragonese historical imaginary and no doubt inspired Martorell to fictionalize De Flor's exploits in the figure of Tirant (Martín Duque et al. 293–5).

By the time *Tirant* appeared in the late fifteenth century, Valencia had superseded Barcelona as the most important Iberian Mediterranean port. There, products from all over the Peninsula reached the Mediterranean market. At this time the city was home to a robust colony of foreign merchants, including many Italians (Giménez Soler 288 and 336; Piles Ros 131–6). This economic bonanza inspired an impressive artistic life, and ushered in what literary historians refer to as the *Segle d'or* or Golden Age of Valencian literature, which preceded the Castilian *Siglo de Oro* by a century.[15] However, despite the boom economy and political importance of Valencia in the fifteenth century, the Crown of Aragon was no longer the great maritime power it had been in the preceding centuries. While the medieval Catalan chroniclers such as King Jaume I, Ramon Muntaner, and Bernat Desclot were eyewitnesses to the apex of Aragonese power, Martorell and Galba give voice to a nostalgia for this lost power in *Tirant*, making frequent use of material from these chronicles. *Tirant*'s dual authorship was not uncommon for the literary scene of fifteenth-century Valencian literature, when groups of literati would workshop an idea that one member would later bring to press (Riquer, "Martorell"). In a certain sense, *Tirant* is a collaboration across time between the Catalan chroniclers and the knight-writers of the late fifteenth century.

We can read *Tirant* as a historical-fictional fantasy of what the Aragonese expansion in the eastern and southern Mediterranean might have been had the Ottoman Empire not come to dominate the region. Montserrat Piera writes that *Tirant* "undoes history" by rolling back

the decline of two great Mediterranean powers: the Byzantine and Aragonese Empires ("Rehistoricizing" 53). This literary revisionist fantasy is fuelled both by historical regret at the loss of Aragonese and Byzantine holdings in the eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but also by the contemporary concerns of the war with Granada in the Iberian south and Ottoman expansion in the East.

The Ottoman incursion into Otranto and the Latin response diverted Castilian and Aragonese resources from the war on Granada, but as a consolation Ferdinand could still emphasize the need to "keep an eye" on Valencian Muslims, who were feared as a latent fifth column for the Ottomans. Ultimately, however, this was a performance; Ferdinand did not empower his administration to take much action in the way of pre-emptively suppressing rebellions by Valencian Muslims, who showed no real signs of launching one in any event. As the decade wore on, however, it became clear that Muslims on both sides of the border were preparing and advocating for the possibility of an Ottoman invasion. This did not come to pass, as the Ottomans were stretched too thin to consider a full invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.[16]

After conquering Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Empire continued to expand into formerly Christian lands. Mehmet II conquered Serbia in 1458. In the same year, fearing increased Latin presence in the region owing to the betrothal of the daughter of Emperor Demetrius Paleologus to the nephew of Alfonso IV of Aragon, he invaded the Peloponnese as well. Ottoman expansion into Christian territory continued after Martorell wrote *Tirant* and into the years leading up to its publication by Galba in 1490. Mehmet II conquered Lesbos (1462), Bosnia, and Herzegovina (1466), and in the following decade harassed and conquered various Venetian possessions in the Aegean and Crimean. By 1479, Venice capitulated, handing over more territories in Albania and elsewhere. The apogee of Ottoman incursion in the west was the famous siege of Otranto (Italy) in 1480, described by Spanish royal chronicler Andrés Bernáldez as a "horrible plague" (*horrible plaga*) (105). Mehmhet's son and successor Bayazid II was less aggressive in expanding the empire's lands. The relatively peace-loving Bayazid also was less likely to wage war with the Latins because the Knights of St John of Jerusalem held his brother Cem hostage (Imber 46–8).

These events only intensified Latin Christendom's nostalgia for crusade and a Christian East. In order to cope with anxieties over a Mediterranean that was increasingly under Muslim control, Iberian writers continued to refashion anachronistic models of crusade literature for contemporary audiences, as Christian Iberian monarchs were pushing to rid their own land of Muslim political power. The events of

the sixteenth century would realize these fears, as the Ottoman sultans expanded their holdings to include nearly all the locations featured in Galba's continuation (Tlemcen, Alexandria, and the former crusader states in the Levant) (Imber 61–81).

Interestingly, the novel is respectful enough of historical and political texture that it avoids polarizing the Mediterranean into good Christians and bad Muslims. Byzantium's non-Christian foes also include mercantile Italians who side with the Turks against the Christian West. Princess Carmesina pleads with Tirant to help her rid Byzantium of its foes: "If you can drive those Genoese, Italians, Lombards, and Turks from our lands, I and my father will rejoice in your victory, yet I fear that adverse Fortune may seek to thwart our plans, for it has long harassed us."[17]

The political order pits mercantile, godless Italians and Turks against Tirant and Byzantium. This is certainly a post-crusade, pre-Lepanto political configuration, one anachronistic to the fictional setting of the novel.[18] Carmesina explains to Tirant how her grandfather Constantine, who died in 337 AD, brought the Roman Empire to Christianity (Martorell and Galba 402). This means that the novel, or at least the Mediterranean chapters, could take place no later than the end of the fourth century. We will put aside for the moment the fact that the Guy of Warwick material making up the bulk of the first book is set during the tenth-century reign of the English King Aethelstan and conclude that we are dealing with a highly anachronistic world, but one that reflects the political concerns of Martorell's time.

Constantinople played an important role in this symbolic game of chess, as the former Byzantine capital and modern heir to the legacy of Roman imperial power. Yet despite the great political significance of the fall of Byzantium, the Iberian historiography of the time is nearly silent on the issue (Díaz Mas, "Eco" 343–4). Fiction jumps in to exploit the silence. Tirant's eventual ascent to the rank of Imperial Caesar, directly below emperor, is a vivid vindication of Christian interests in the region, one rooted in history, if not exactly respectful of the historical record. These interests and ambitions are embodied in the works' heroes, Guillem de Varoic and Tirant lo Blanch, whose adventures map historical crusade itineraries onto a fictional world.

## *Guy of Warwick*, Chivalry and Crusade

Crusade, after all, is a form of pilgrimage, so what better way to frame a novel about pan-Mediterranean crusade than a pilgrimage from England to Jerusalem? Martorell's *Tirant* begins by telling the story of the pilgrimage of William of Warwick, who, as the model of a good

knight Llull describes in the pages of *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria* and that he novelizes in the pages of *Blaquerna*, caps his wildly successful career as a warrior with a pilgrimage to the holy sites in Jerusalem. In fact, crusade is so crucial to *Tirant*'s geography, that distances are actually measured in terms of crusade-lengths:

> Do you know how much territory his vassal the Grand Karaman governs? More than all France and Spain, as I know from experience, because I passed through his realms on my way to Jerusalem, after which I was moved by devotion to make a pilgrimage to Saint James's tomb in Galicia, and thus I crossed all of Spain as well.[19]

This has the double effect of announcing one's accomplishment of crusade (just as a Christian one might bear the honorific "Traveller to Jerusalem" or a Muslim *al-Hajji*, one who has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca). This kind of projection of Christian institutions onto fictional Muslims was common in medieval Christian literature. The best-known example is found in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, which depicts Christians rushing into battle shouting *Santi Yagüe*! (For Saint James!) – which historically they did – while Muslims shout *Mafámet!* (For Muhammad!) – which historically they did not, Muhammad being only a man and not worthy of such an invocation.[20]

Here, as in *Zifar,* the authors map crusade and hagiographical geography onto the fictional worlds they create in order to authorize their texts with the sanctity of pilgrimage, holy war, and martyrdom. They overlay the sacralized geography of the East onto the Iberian context in order to transfer a bit of the sanctity of the eastern crusade on to the Iberian Peninsula. Iberia, of course, did not boast holy sites to rival Jerusalem, even if Santiago de Compostela came in a close third after Rome theologically, but it was a clear second in terms of regional politics. Measuring Iberian distances in terms of eastern pilgrimage or crusade is a way of legitimizing Iberian crusade by borrowing from the prestige of the eastern (primary) crusade, just as the conquest of al-Andalus was at times framed as a western route (*iter per Hispaniam*) to eastern crusade.

William then returns to Warwick disguised as a friar, determined to live out his days in contemplation (subsequently allowing his wife to believe he has died on the journey). This is the plan, at least until the Muslim king of the Canary Islands attacks England: "As the English king was regrouping his forces, he learned that the Saracens were pillaging the island, killing or enslaving Christians, and dishonouring their wives and daughters."[21] Like the aging protagonist of the

modern action film, the retired Guy Warwick/friar cannot resist the call of duty and, chivalrous knight that he is, joins the fray anew, helping the king of England repel the Muslim invaders. Martorell links the eastern crusade of the Byzantine past with the north African present by shifting the infidel threat from Danish invaders (in the original *Guy of Warwick* legend) to Muslims from the Canary Islands. In this way he blends the crusader imaginary, the current conflict with the Ottoman Empire, and the Spanish expansion in the Canaries, Granada, and north Africa.

In the original *Guy of Warwick*, it is Danes, not Muslims, who attack England. However, in the Iberian chivalric context the not-as-yet-Christianized villains are, of course, the Muslims. The detail of the Muslim invaders being from the Canary Islands is at once ahistorical and timely (that is, it is *true* without being historically accurate): at the time Martorell was writing, although various Iberian monarchs throughout the fourteenth century had entertained designs of conquering the archipelago, none of these came to more than tentative missionary or pillaging campaigns. Acting independently, French nobleman Jean de Bethancourt and his nephew Maciot managed to gain control of the islands of Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, and Hierro between 1402 and 1418, but eventually gave up their rights under increasing pressure from powerful Castilian noblemen. However, because the Canary Islanders, as infidels, fell under the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, any hopeful conquistadors would need the Vatican's approval, which Eugene IV granted to Castile in 1436. The Castilian conquest of the islands was complete by 1447, but it was not until 1485, during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, that the islands would officially fall under Castilian sovereignty (Aznar Vallejo 41–3). Given this timeline, the question of the Canaries would have been a relatively fresh memory by the 1490 publication of *Tirant*. An Atlantic maritime territory passing from French to Castilian hands in the decade prior to the composition of *Tirant* would have been very much on the minds of the elites of the Crown of Aragon, and therefore there is little surprise that Muslim Canarian villains would make it into the pages of Martorell's fictionalized geopolitical drama.

The king of England beseeches William-disguised-as-friar to help the war effort against the Canarian Muslim invaders. The "friar" begs off, stating that he has no military training: "were I a hardy skilled knight and skilled in warfare, I would gladly serve you and risk my frail person for Your Majesty, as it would be a great pity if in your youth you were dethroned."[22]

The king's reply reminds the friar of the heroic sacrifices made by religious, and reinforces the crusader ideal of the warrior-monk or monk-warrior. He exhorts the friar/William

> to defend the Catholic faith; holy saints and martyrs have battled the infidel and won glorious crowns of martyrdom, their noble spirits comforted by God. Therefore, reverend father, I kneel at your feet and with bitter tears again beg you, by Our Lord's holy passion, to act as a true Christian and pity me, the most afflicted of kings, and all the Christian folk, whose only hope lies in God's mercy and your virtue.[23]

The king's appeal is very much in a crusader key. It is not simply a request for military aid, but one with all the discursive markers of crusader ideology: the comparison of the knight to the martyred saints who defended the faith through personal sacrifice, a call to imitate Christ for the sake of his own sacrifice to defend the faith with the sword. As opposed to the original *Guy of Warwick*, a part-Arthurian world only secondarily under the influence of crusader discourse (as we have discussed above), the Iberian inflection brings crusade (and mission, as in Llull and as we will discuss below) to the centre of the discussion.

The "friar" agrees "if necessary, to do battle, old though I am, and to defend Christianity against the haughty Islamic sect. With God's help, I shall give you honor, glory, and victory."[24] He then reveals that he knows Arabic and is familiar with the region from his pilgrimage:

> Send for some Saracen clothes and you will see what I plan to do, for on my way to the Holy Sepulcher I stopped in Alexandria and Beirut. There I studied the Arab tongue and learned to make a kind of explosive that takes hours to ignite, but once lit, can destroy the whole world. The more water you pour on it, the brighter it burns, and it can only be doused with a mixture of water and resin.[25]

We will leave aside for the moment the question of whether Arabic would have been a useful language against Muslims from the Canary Islands in whatever mythical past century this is supposed to be (which is very much, as we will see, a moving target). We have seen from our discussions of Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna* and the anonymous *Libro del Caballero Zifar* that Arabic was an acceptable monolith for "Muslim" or "Eastern" language. Much in the way that all non-Christians, including Muslims, were in some contexts represented as "pagans" (as in the idol-worshipping Saracens of twelfth-century French *gestes* and

thirteenth-century French Romances), all Muslims were perceived as Arabic speakers. We see the same sort of conflation of Muslim religion and Arabic language today in the media and the popular imagination. Spaniards played this out in the New World as well, when Columbus famously dispatched his Arabic-speaking converso *lengua* (translator) to communicate with the indigenous people of what we now call the Bahamas.[26]

Warwick's pilgrimage was not simply a matter of spirituality. Rather, it combines crusader ideology with proto-realist engagement with material culture as a military intelligence gathering mission, one that will help win the battle against King Abraham by turning against him military technology stolen from the other side. As we observed of the *Caballero Zifar*, this is very much in keeping with the idea of crusade as the fusion of chivalry and pilgrimage: as the pilgrim travels east to accrue spiritual commodities (narratives, blessings, relics) to be expended in the Latin West, so the hero Warwick here travels east to accrue military assets (Arabic language, intelligence, technology) to be put in the service of holy war.

Martorell and Galba adapt the crusader sensibility of *Guy of Warwick* to the Iberian context. In *Tirant*, we can observe the fusion of the Arthurian world with Ibero-Mediterranean geopolitics. This is most apparent in the beginning of the story, when Muslim forces based in the Canaries attack England:

> Some years later the King of Canary, a hardy youth whose virile and restless soul was stirred by dreams of conquest, had a great fleet of ships and galleys built. He planned to descend on the isle of England with a mighty host, for English pirates had assaulted some of his towns. Great was his rage and indignation at this affront, and, setting sail with a favorable wind, he soon reached England's green and peaceful shores, where under cover of darkness his fleet entered the harbor of Southampton. He and his Saracens landed without being heard by the inhabitants, and once ashore they began to ravage the land.[27]

In the original version the attackers are Danes, who in the time when *Guy of Warwick* is set had not yet fully embraced Christianity, and thus appear as pagan infidels.[28] The Iberian theory of chivalry, expressed in the *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria* (Book of the Order of Chivalry) of Ramon Llull, states that the job of the knight is to defend Christendom from infidels.[29] By Martorell's day, however, Granada had been reduced to a totally dependent client state of Castile; the Islamic threat to Christendom now came from the Ottoman eastern Mediterranean. Tirant,

like the crusader knights of the golden era of the chivalric romance, answers the call (Rubiera Mata, *Tirant* 14).

This fusion of worlds plays out on a generic level in Martorell's adaptation of the conventions of Arthurian fictions. In this encounter the invading Saracen King Abraham challenges the English king to single combat.[30] The hermit Warwick serves as the king's champion, and of course, defeats King Abraham.[31] Having defended England from the Saracen menace, Warwick returns to his hermitage, and here begins the següe between the Arthurian and the Ibero-Mediterranean storyworlds that come together to give us *Tirant lo Blanc*.

On his way to attend the wedding of the English king and the French princess, *Tirant* encounters the hermit (Warwick), who instructs him in the ways of knighthood, reading to him from a book that is adapted from the novelized version of *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria* from the similar episode in Llull's *Blaquerna*. The reliance on Llull's book is not coincidental; the *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria* had by the end of the fifteenth century achieved wide diffusion throughout Latin Christendom and its influence was broad. It may well have served a key role in inspiring Martorell to fuse the Arthurian chivalric sensibility with the specifically Iberian inflection of missionary crusade we see brought to life in the pages of *Blaquerna*.[32] It is, however, updated for the late fifteenth century, with its emphasis on the threat posed by the Turk. Whereas in *Cavalleria* Llull focuses on Granada and north Africa, Martorell broadens the scope of the Muslim threat to bring the Ottoman Turk to centre stage. In fact, the example he gives of Christian knight as defender of the faith is not drawn from the eastern crusades, nor from the Iberian campaigns against al-Andalus, but from the struggle of the fictional Captain Quinto against the Turk.[33] Tirant stays with the hermit, who reads Tirant a story about the mission of Captain Quinto to Constantinople. When Quinto arrives in Constantinople, he finds that the Turks have turned a cathedral into a stable.[34] Quinto confronts the Turkish captain, vowing to restore the holy site and eject the infidel defilers: "I come from the Holy Roman Empire and I represent the Pope. My mission is to punish you, defiler of Christianity. With this cruel and naked sword, I shall slay those who soil God's house."[35] His words are drawn directly from the sermons of the first crusades and reflect far more the tone and ideology of eastern crusade than the more Manifest Destiny tone of the Christian conquest of al-Andalus.

Crusade discourse in late medieval eastern Mediterranean, according to Christopher Tyerman, was inconsistent. On the one hand, writers leaned on the old tropes and commonplaces of the earlier Levantine crusades, but in many cases it was a thin veneer of rhetoric applied over

more substantial structures determined by commerce, military conflict, and politics (Tyerman, *How to Plan* 266–8). The Turk (or Eastern Arab) is less a "demonic foe" and more of a nuanced threat. Iberian authors see the Turk, if not the Iberian Muslim, as more monolithically evil.

The idea behind the Visigothic thesis that fuelled the final push to Granada was that the Christians were recuperating land that rightfully and historically had belonged to them and had been taken from them by Muslim invaders.[36] While the papal bulls of crusade certainly legitimized these campaigns as holy war on paper, the strong narrative was not that of recuperating defiled holy sites, or rescuing Christian communities from the depradations of Muslim oppression as it was for eastern crusades, and as *Tirant* brings back into play in its representation of the defence of Christian Constantinople.

However, there were certainly aspects of the Iberian crusade imaginary that find expression in *Tirant*. One curious example is that of the legacy of Constantine as a Christian proselyte of pagans. Princess Carmesina explains to Tirant that she is a direct descendant of Emperor Constantine, who famously converted Rome to Christianity:

> I would like you to know how old this city is, for it was first populated many centuries ago by idolatrous heathens. They were converted to Christianity by my noble grandfather Constantine, whose father had been elected Emperor of Rome and ruled Greece and many other provinces. When Saint Sylvester cured him of a dread disease, he converted and made him Pope, giving the Roman Empire to the Church and retaining only Greece. He was succeeded by my grandfather, the emperor Constantine, who was asked by all nations to be Pope and emperor. Hearing of his generosity, such a horde of foreigners came to settle that there was no room for them in Pera, so my grandfather had our noble city built, christening it Constantinople, and from then on he was called the Emperor of Constantinople.[37]

Here the princess places herself at the end of a long line of proselytizers, in this way justifying the current political order of a Christian Constantinople. Stating this precedent, she refuses to form a treaty with Saracens. Her implication is that the Byzantine Empire is theirs by historical right, much as the Castilian kings asserted their historical rights over al-Andalus, and legitimized this right by invoking their Visigothic lineage that stretched back to Rodrigo, the last Christian king before the Muslim invasion.

On the heels of this very anachronistic narrative flourish (her grandfather lived in the fourth century? And *Tirant* is meant to take place

in ... when exactly?), the historical and the fictional begin to blend in more believable ways. For example, when the Turks attack Constantinople, who should come to Tirant's aid against the Turks but the (historical) Knights of St John, the members of that order who retreated to Cyprus following the fall of Latin Jerusalem, eventually establishing themselves on the Island of Rhodes in 1310.[38] The Knights of St John embody all the ideals of chivalry, and the discussion between them and the Saracen enemies is as courtly as you please, while still framed in terms of crusade: "The cruel and desperate Saracens were determined to perish sword in hand, though they knew truth and justice were on the other side. The Christians, for their part, beheaded every Turk they caught."[39]

Even the rivalry of knights advocating for the superiority of their beloved is a metaphor for holy war. While Arthurian knights posit their superior prowess as evidence of their ladies' matchless beauty and nobility, these knights use their beloveds as stand-ins for their religion. As we discussed in the case of the Knight of the Order of *Benedicta Tu* in Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna*, chivalric discourses of the twelfth and thirteenth century often couched love in religious terms as a way of exalting love in the highest terms available to human expression. In *Blaquerna* Llull turned this convention on its head, substituting the Virgin herself for the knight's beloved. Here Martorell takes this game a step further, switching back the respective (human) Muslim and Christian beloveds as icons of knightly devotion whose beauty and nobility is rooted not simply in their military skill and bravery, but in their religious identity as well: "It is known that you love the Great Khan's daughter and I the Emperor's; you woo a Saracen and I a Christian. Your mistress has the schism (*cisma*) and mine the chrism (*crisma*), and everywhere mine will be judged better and nobler."[40] This sacralization of the chivalric world continues in explaining outcomes of battles fought between Christian and Muslim forces. When the Muslims are victorious, the narrator puts it down to "Fortune"; when the Christians win, it is by the hand of "Divine Providence."[41]

This sacralization extends to descriptions of Tirant himself. At times the narrator describes Tirant in the same terms used to describe and portray the great patron saints of Iberian crusade, Isidore and James, and Ferdinand III "The Saint." In battle with the Grand Karaman, "[all] the Christians called upon Tirant as if he were a saint" (*tots reclamaven a Tirant com si fos un sant*) (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 308; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 584). This conflation of military and spiritual heroism, achieved by militarizing saints such as Isidore and James, and sanctifying military heroes such as Ferdinand III, reinforced

the ideology of holy war, eroding the distinction between military and spiritual values by personifying them in a single individual. Martorell takes this to an extreme by referring to Tirant as the "Messiah" of the Christian forces (*llur Messies*), who beg the emperor to send Tirant to deliver them from defeat at the hands of the Turks (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 308; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 584).

Outside of the crusading context, the Arthurian villain is typically described as one who does not embody the values of chivalry. He is ignoble, deceitful, uncharitable, tyrannical, but none of these traits is associated with one's religion and in fact it is unusual for a villain in Arthurian romances to be characterized as a "bad Christian." That is, while chivalry is always associated with Christianity, its core values are thought to transcend religion.[42] However, in *Tirant* if a Muslim happens to be a good knight, it is natural that he would eventually convert to Christianity, because his goodness does not stem from his adherence to a chivalric code informed by Islam, but rather the opposite: he strives to overcome the limitations of Islam and cannot fully realize himself as a knight without embracing Christianity.[43]

In *Tirant* there are certainly Muslim characters who are recognized for their chivalric behaviour. Some of these eventually become Christian, which again reinforces the discourse of reconquest as reclaiming that which always belonged to Christendom by right. What is more common is to conflate villainy and Islamic religious identity, attacking the doctrine itself as a form of evil. When the sultan proposes a marriage alliance to the emperor, offering to marry Princess Carmesina in exchange for peace, she categorically rejects his offer: "My noble spirit could never live with a Saracen dog, who can have all the women he wishes, yet none is truly his wife for he can divorce every one of them whenever he likes."[44] By the same token, the emperor's parting words to the sultan's emissaries conflate the spiritual and military, rejecting in no uncertain terms both the political union between Christian and Muslim proposed by the sultan as well as any negotiation in the release of the sultan's vassals: "I shall never," the emperor declares, "betray our faith by giving my daughter to an infidel, and moreover, I declare that however much treasure the Grand Karaman and the king of Armenia offer, they will never be freed until they make peace and quit my empire."[45]

Elsewhere Muslim characters demonstrate good ethical behaviour that they explain they have learned from Christian examples or descent, as we have seen in the examples of Mudarra (*Siete Infantes de Lara*) and the ballad of Abenámar in the previous chapter. Plaerdemavida, shipwrecked in north Africa, is saved by an older man who had himself

been a slave in Cádiz, but due to his bravery in defending his mistress's family, was freed, and now returns the favour, setting her free (Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 842–3). His kindness merely reflects that shown to him by his Christian owners, by which the good in the Saracen is actually Christian in origin. Abdullah Solomon, the emissary of the sultan of Babylon, explains to Tirant that although his father was Muslim, his mother was a Christian and that is why he loves Christians.[46]

Similarly, King Escariano explains how his Franciscan teachers nearly succeeded in converting him to Christianity in his childhood: "When I was young, three Franciscan Friars were my tutors, and, being learned theologians, they often sought to convert me. Convinced of their doctrine's superiority, I would have followed their counsel had my mother not wept until she drove them from our palace."[47] The suggestion is that disputation and indoctrination is effective (historical evidence suggests otherwise but this is very much in Llull's vein, and since Martorell adapted material from Llull's *Cavalleria* for book 1 it is not a stretch to think he might have known other Llull works). This is another example of how the "good" Saracens owe their positive characteristics in some way, to Christianity. For Abenámar it was his Christian mother (ironically, who entered into the sort of political mixed marriage the sultan proposes to Carmesina), for Mudarra, his Christian father, for Flores, the milk of his Christian wet nurse, and here, for Escariano, his Christian tutors.

At the same time (and like Llull before him) Martorell demonstrates a certain level of familiarity with Muslim custom and practice. This should not surprise us given the size and importance of Valencia's Muslim population in the second half of the fifteenth century, and it fits with Martorell's overall attention to technical detail in military, political, and social practice.[48] Nonetheless, it is significant that a Christian author not engaged in religious polemics (for polemicists were often very well versed in Muslim doctrine and practice) include this level of detail of Muslim practice. In one example, Tirant asks Abdallah Solomon to tell the Turks that he will offer no truce until they swear on the *qibla* (*jurar a l'alquibla*), the niche in a mosque that indicates the direction of Mecca.[49]

This literary focus on oath-taking changes in the case of a character who converts from Islam to Christianity. When King Escariano is about to receive baptism, Tirant asks him to "swear to our brotherhood, first on the *qibla* as a Saracen and then as a Christian after your baptism."[50] Is this detail a literary caprice or does it reflect some understanding of the theology of conversion in the fifteenth century? While there is a good deal of scholarly literature on standards for oath-taking applied to Christians, Jews, and Muslims, I have not yet come across

any examples of an individual having to swear twice, once on either limn of their own conversion. Perhaps it is a bit of poetic licence, fictional wish fulfilment that speaks to the very well-documented anxiety resulting from the mass conversions of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Since one was essentially a different person, legally, after conversion, the desire for both "versions" of King Escariano, the Muslim *and* the Christian, to swear on their respective sacred texts, is nothing more than a bit of creative due diligence, a way to ensure that one of the two Escarianos could not claim to be breaking an oath that the other had or had not sworn legitimately.

**Conversion as Crusade**

This focus on the problematics of conversion is, as we have seen in our discussion of Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna,* what most distinguishes Iberian discourses of crusade. Unlike the discourse of eastern crusade that focused on military and political objectives, such as the conquest of a given territory and its inclusion into the institutions of Latin Christendom, Iberian ideals of crusade often included ambitious programs of proselytization of subject Muslims and Jewish minorities. Proselytizers such as Llull could not have foreseen how this approach might go wrong, but that is precisely what happened. The thirteenth-century "dream of conversion," at least in the case of Iberian Jews, backfired horribly, creating a large class of *conversos* who were under constant suspicion of Judaizing and whose persecution strained the fabric of Iberian Christian society. In fifteenth-century Valencia these racial anxieties found expression in literature. I have written elsewhere about how Jaume Roig's *Spill* (ca. 1450) gives voice to racial and ethnic tensions in Valencia by adapting a narrative voice in imitation of the dialect of the Muslim peasantry of the region (Wacks, *Framing Iberia* 225–6). The authors of *Tirant*, by contrast, voice these concerns openly in the portrayal of mass conversions and prophecy of the social problems that Valencia's multicultural society would suffer in the future (Martorell and Galba's present). Tirant assists a Valencian friar (who happens to be in Tlemcen in order to ransom Valencian Christians held captive there) in a mass conversion of over forty thousand north African Muslims:

> This friar, who knew that a Christian captain had captured King Escariano and freed the slaves from a shipwrecked galley, came to ask Tirant for a donation to help him redeem Valencians. After welcoming him with great joy, Tirant asked him to complete the baptisms, and in the following days he set 44,327 infidels on the path to salvation.[51]

Once they complete the massive conversion effort, which in its sheer volume challenges the literary imagination, the friar then cites a prophecy by a certain Elias, who predicts that mighty Valencia will eventually be brought low by its troublesome non-Christian populations:

> The friar was from Valencia, a most blessed and noble Spanish port endowed with valiant knights and abundant in everything but spices. This city, which exports more merchandise than any other, is inhabited by virtuous, peaceful, and well-spoken men. Though its women are not very fair, they are wittier than elsewhere and captivate men's fancies with their charming ways and sweet discourse. In the future, Valencia's wickedness will be the cause of its downfall, for it will be populated by nations of cursed seed and men will come to distrust their own fathers and brothers. According to Elias, it will have to bear three scourges: Jews, Saracens, and converts.[52]

At this time in Valencia there was a large and powerful class of "burgher conversos," whose social influence and physical indistinguishability from "old" Christians was causing quite a bit of anxiety among the city's aristocracy, as well as in the Crown of Aragon generally.[53] The disputation of Tortosa and the mob violence whipped up by the gifted sermonizer Vincent Ferrer, who was granted permission (as Llull had been before him) to preach mandatory sermons to Valencia's Jews and Muslims, had resulted in masses of converts, primarily of Jews to Christianity.

Backed by violent mobs, and by a king whose rise to power Ferrer himself had engineered, Ferrer staged the Disputation of Tortosa and used it as a lever to convert thousands of Jews in the Crown of Aragon, including many in Valencia (Maccoby 83–6). The papal bull *Etsi doctoris gentium* promulgated by Benedict IV at Valencia in 1415 instituted a series of social and economic restrictions on Valencia's Jews that in all likelihood served to incentivize conversions to Christianity, along with instituting regular forced sermonizing to the Valencia's Jews. Many of these resulting "new Christians," who by rights should have enjoyed all the benefits of adherence to the majority religion, continued to suffer discrimination and persecution as Christians. A by-product of the conversions was a whole new polemic literature that sought to exalt or denigrate the various groups: Christians, Muslims, Jews, and conversos.[54] Though there was already a significant corpus of this type of polemic by the thirteenth century, the creation of a very socially significant class of conversos created a need to describe, classify, and ultimately control them. It was, in a sense, phase three of the "final" crusade, after the

military victory and the mass conversions: the symbolic victory over the converts.

To this end, clerics penned treatises designed to undermine the legitimacy of the new converts as ethnically, genealogically, and theologically inferior. Converso clerics riposted, defending the authentic faith of the conversos. As in the case of King Escariano swearing both as a Muslim and as a Christian, this debate inspired Martorell and Galba to explore the narrative possibilities of these debates when deployed in a fictional setting. When Tirant is in Tlemcen, the "Jew of Tlemcen, Jacob," is being set up for marriage to a wealthy Jewish woman. However, Jacob explains, the marriage cannot be: the bride-to-be belongs to a different class of Jew, one with whom Jacob must never mix bloodlines. He explains to the king that all Jews descend from three groups of Jews who lived in the Holy Land at the time of Jesus Christ:

> Ever since Jesus Christ was crucified, all Jews have been of three lineages, the first of which consists of those who called for His death. Their restlessness reveals them, as they are forever fidgeting and their souls know no peace, nor have they much sense of shame. The second lineage is those who took part in His crucifixion: those who whipped and bound Him, nailed him to the cross, and after placing a crown of thorns upon His head, slapped that Righteous Man, gambled for his clothes, and spat in His face. You can recognize them by the fact that, unable to meet your gaze, they look down or to one side and can barely turn their eyes Heavenward. The Jew who wants to be my father-in-law is of this type. The third lineage, descended from David, was in Jerusalem too, but they opposed Christ's execution and, moved by compassion, took refuge in Solomon's temple lest they see that Holy Man so cruelly abused. These kind and generous Jews, who did their utmost to save Christ, treat their neighbors with love and can look in all directions.[55]

This taxonomy appears to be an invention of the authors of *Tirant*, as it does not appear in any of the anti-converso literature of the fifteenth century. Like the case of the pre-and post-conversion oaths, it is a fictionalized gloss of the types of arguments one heard in fifteenth-century Spain. Its tripartite structure echoes the standard argument, first introduced by Augustine, that the Jews are descended from those Jews who crucified Christ, but with an allegorical twist: that the disposition of each "lineage" of Jew, down to the physical habits and limitations, originates in their relationship to the crucifixion.

Like the mapping of the *imitatio Christi* of pilgrimage onto the medieval conflict between Christians and Muslims (or at least between Christian and Muslim elites), this allegorical taxonomy of Jews (bad, worse, and worst) maps the passion onto the religious and political landscape of fifteenth-century Valencia. Fictions such as these interpret historical events through the filter of religious ideology and current social pressures.

Earlier fictions by Christian Iberian authors, such as the *Libro del cavallero Zifar,* prominently feature conversion scenes as a part of their chivalric world. These representations are a direct reflection of historical reality. Less than ten years after the publication of *Tirant* this is precisely what happened in Spain in the very name of defending Christianity: the mass expulsion and conversion of the Peninsula's Jews, and a decade later, the mass conversion of the Peninsula's Muslims. History very clearly demonstrates that the dream of mass conversion novelized in *Tirant* is less a fantasy than a rehearsal.

Though the Catholic Monarchs were celebrated by Rome as crusading heroes on a par with Ferdinand III "The Saint" (hence the title "Catholic Monarchs"), the triumphant fantasy of a Catholic Iberia that seemed so imminent after the conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from the empire was never totally fulfilled. Many *conversos* continued to practise Judaism for centuries, and though Islam was officially banned in 1502, many *Moriscos* or converts from Islam, especially in Valencia, continued likewise.[56] We have documented evidence of fairly organized Islamic life in parts of Spain right up to the (perhaps) definitive expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1613, including an entire Qur'an translated into Castilian in 1609 (López-Morillas, *Corán*). This phase of Late Spanish Islam continued to flourish in north Africa, where Moriscos who had been expelled from Spain settled and continued to write basic Islamic texts – *in Castilian* and in Latin characters, no less – for some years before learning Arabic and assimilating to north African society.[57] They were also fans of chivalric fiction and other popular genres, and like the author of *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani*, identified to some extent with the style (if not the goals) of heroic crusade literature.[58] In the end, crusade and conversion made for some excellent fictions, but the reality was far messier and more disappointing.

In conclusion, *Tirant lo Blanch* fuses domestic and geopolitical concerns about Eastern conquest and domestic crusade and conversion from French chivalric novels with those of Martorell and Galba's fifteenth-century Valencia. The novel reimagines the chivalric Arthurian

world in a specifically late medieval Valencian key, both projecting local concerns onto the Arthurian storyworld and infusing current reality with Arthurian chivalric values. In this world, Moors attack England, the hero rules over a Byzantine Constantinople, and a wildly successful Valencian proselyte predicts the downfall of his hometown resulting from his own successful endeavours to convert local Jews and Muslims. In these ways, *Tirant* is emblematic of the power of fiction to represent the present by reimagining the past.

# Conclusion

In this book I have tried to demonstrate how medieval Iberian writers refracted ideas of crusade and conversion through the lens of Iberian experience. This experience was distinguished by an internal frontier with Islam (and Judaism), a need to assimilate large populations of Jews and Muslims to Christian society, and by a sense of difference from French and other crusaders and Latin Christians living in very different conditions on the other side of the Pyrenees.

The entanglement of Iberian writers with Islam, and their agonistic stance of conquest and conversion toward Islamicate culture and Muslims is present in all the texts studied here. The author of *Ziyad*, himself a Muslim, wrote from within the Islamic tradition, adapting chivalric romance from the other side of the mirror, as it were. *Zifar*'s engagement is quite different, a voice of reconquest culture dressing up in the embroidered robes of Andalusi learning, just as the Catholic Monarchs would later inhabit the Alhambra and dress up *a lo morisco* to demonstrate their dominance over Andalusi civilization. *Blaquerna* is, of course, obsessed with Islam and sees it as the single most important challenge to rolling out a universal *pax christiana*, but it also demonstrates a familiarity bred of intimacy – Llull was raised in a Majorca where Islamic culture was still very much alive, and as an adult he studied Arabic and travelled to north Africa. *Blaquerna*'s take on chivalric fiction is to substitute the disputator for the knight. Llull imagines religious disputation a form of single combat, undertaken in the name not of a flesh-and-blood lady, but of the Virgin Mary herself. In *Flores y Blancaflor* the engagement between Christian and Islamic Iberia is told as a romance, and the happy ending is not a victory on the jousting lists, but a wedding. *Tirant* is a wide-ranging epic story which combines sword, cross, and diplomacy. As in *Flores y Blancaflor*, there is a creative blend of history and fiction. The worlds of all these works differ in

how they build fictional worlds using ideas of crusade, conquest, and conversion, and in the ways they recombine the narrative resources of genres and texts that gave voice to the crusader imaginary.

Fiction for these writers is a laboratory for the social imaginary, a way to envision the reorganization of society around the problem of religious conflict. None of the works portrays a crusade per se. In none of them does the hero travel to Jerusalem to liberate it from Muslim rule. Instead, they repopulate the crusader imaginary with scenes and problems that are relevant to Iberian experience. *Ziyad* does this by blending fictional worlds and portraying a triumphant Islam at a time when Granada was a client state of the kingdom of Castile-Leon. *Zifar* blends hagiographic, chivalric, and gnomic genres to create chivalric heroes who range from court to forest to church, sampling the learning of all three as they go. *Blaquerna* is an adaptation of chivalric romance that expresses heroic values through an ecclesiastical lens. *Flores y Blancaflor* rewrites history to expand Christianity's triumph farther backward in time to lay claim to Charlemagne's legacy and thus boost Castile's status vis-à-vis France. *Tirant lo Blanc* rolls back the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and imagines a Western Latin once again on the throne of the Byzantine Empire, blending the chivalric and emergent novelistic imaginary.

The Mediterranean is very present in all these works. As with the question of their treatment of crusade culture, the representation is not always direct. Some of the works are "in" the Mediterranean, taking place in France, Iberia, north Africa, Asia Minor, and the Levant. Others are "of" the Mediterranean, representing the kind of literary production that characterizes the region in their use of genres, themes, and motifs shared by Mediterranean literary culture. *Ziyad* brings together literary traditions from both sides of the Mediterranean: chivalric literature from France and Arabic epic and popular fiction from the Levant and north Africa. *Blaquerna* takes the entire Mediterranean as the canvas for Llull's project of universal conversion to Christianity, linking France, Iberia, Rome, and north Africa. *Flores y Blancaflor* is a pan-Mediterranean tale that takes the entire region as the laboratory for rewriting local Iberian political history. *Tirant* is a Mediterranean canvas onto which the authors paint a representation of Iberian insecurities about the twin threats of Ottoman encroachment and converso treachery.

In all these cases, the Mediterranean is the literary/fictional space bringing together the important geopolitical issues of the day related to crusade: Christian Iberia's status relative to France, the question of holy war both in Iberia and in the East, and the conversion of subject Jews

and Muslims. Part of the crusader project was to reimagine the East as a space where Latin Christendom might triumph, under the guidance and with the approval of the pope. North Africa and Egypt, apart from being sites of actual missions by religious such as Ramon Llull, were also the real or imagined destinations of later crusades such as those of Louis IX of France. Byzantium and the Latin West experienced anxiety about the waxing Ottoman Empire, which expanded considerably over the course of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, when these texts were written. Even as Christian Iberia expanded during this time, Byzantium disappeared entirely. All this makes it clear that these fictions are working through real political and religious issues that faced Iberian leaders and intellectuals.

Why is it important to think about the crusader imaginary and the ways in which fictions deploy crusader ideals of conquest, conversion, and assimilation? On the one hand, these texts are all examples of how people imagine solutions, whether pragmatic, practicable, or otherwise, for important social issues of the times: international relations, the role of religion in public life, heroic values. In some cases, these take the form of theoretical explorations and reworkings of familiar genres, themes, and historical settings (*Ziyad*, *Zifar*, *Flores y Blancaflor*). In others they are fictionalized rehearsals for concrete programs of action (*Blaquerna*) and political aspirations (*Tirant*).

Both artistic representations as well as the rhetoric of public figures, be they legitimate heads of state or more shadowy extremists, continue to reimagine the past as a way to shape the present or plan for the future. Contemporary fictions imagine alternate histories or presents, some in ways that touch on issues similar to those raised by our texts studied here. Philip Dick's *The Man in the High Castle* (1962), adapted as a video series (2015), imagines a world in which Nazi Germany was victorious. Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), also recently adapted for television (2016), looks at an alternate present in which religious extremists have taken control of the United States. Films such as *The Siege* (1998) were prescient reactions to rising Islamic fundamentalist terrorism and predicted much of the xenophobic and racist backlash that came in the wake of the attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001.

As we have discussed, Richard Walsh points out that fiction is a rhetorical resource, meant to arouse affect, and forward an agenda, rather than represent some form of "truth" (2). In this spirit, public figures routinely deploy the language and imagery of crusade to mobilize political will. Five days after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001, then President George W. Bush gave a televised address in which he described the "war on terror" as a "crusade." Three years

later, after the terrorist attacks in the Madrid train system on 11 March 2004, former president of Spain José María Aznar, then a Distinguished Scholar in the Practice of Global Leadership at Georgetown University, gave a speech in which he framed Spain's Islamic history in terms of a centuries-long counterterrorism campaign:

> The problem Spain has with Al Qaeda and Islamic terrorism did not begin with the Iraq Crisis ... You must go back no less than 1,300 years, to the early eighth century, when a Spain recently invaded by the Moors refused to become just another piece in the Islamic world and began a long battle to recover its identity. This Reconquista process was very long, lasting some 800 years. However, it ended successfully. (Aznar)

Former Chief Policy advisor to President Donald Trump Steven Bannon made similar remarks at the Vatican, where he appeared to preach a new crusade to Pope Francis:

> If you look back at the long history of the Judeo-Christian West struggle against Islam, I believe that our forefathers kept their stance, and I think they did the right thing. I think they kept it out of the world, whether it was at Vienna, or Tours, or other places. (Feder)

President Barack Obama pushed back against this trend, likening Islamic terrorism to past Christian violence. At the National Prayer Breakfast on 5 February 2015, he reminded the world that "during the crusades and the Inquisition, people committed terrible deeds in the name of Christ" (Gabriele, "Islamophobes").

Leaders of Islamic terror groups and Arab regimes hostile to the United States likewise frame the conflict using the language of crusade. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein famously referred to President George H.W. Bush as the "Chief Crusader." ISIS and Hamas leadership refer to the United States and coalition forces as "crusaders" (Wasserstein 61). White supremacists in the United States and Europe have appropriated the language and symbology of crusade in their racist and xenophobic propaganda (Kaufman). In 2012, anti-immigration activist William Gheen described the struggle to keep undocumented immigrants out of the United States as

> a spiritual war between good and evil, between those who are defending their homes and trying to conserve what is good about America vs. aggressive invaders who have overthrown our Republic and taken control of the Executive Branch to further their goals. (L. Nelson)

Similar rhetoric is at least as common in Europe, where the *Mouvement Idéntitaire* declares its dedication to a "reconquest," to reclaim Europe for white Europeans, and other European white nationalists commonly describe their efforts as a new crusade against Islam, or at least Muslim immigrants to Europe. These voices are all considerably less sophisticated in their rhetoric than the texts studied in this book, yet are engaged in a similar endeavour: they seek to either legitimate the status quo or propose an alternative through the deployment of rhetorical tropes and images of crusade, conquest, and conversion.

This contemporary weaponization of the crusader imaginary for nefarious ends makes it even more important to study its medieval roots all the more seriously. It is no longer simply a question of updating the literary history of the past, but also of providing resources for thinking about the future.

# Notes

**Introduction**

1 Such an approach does not, however, mean viewing the past through rose-coloured lenses. Critics of both medieval Iberian and Mediterranean critical frameworks have accused scholars using these approaches of whitewashing or sugar-coating the past, suggesting that such visions of "interconnectedness" or "cultural exchange" is overdetermined and erases the violence and conflict that accompanied contact between different religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups. I want to be clear: war, including holy war, slavery, oppressive rule, and other forms of exploitation were commonplace in the medieval Mediterranean, but nonetheless (as we will see in our discussion of the crusades) they were sites and agents of cultural exchange. No serious student of contemporary U.S. culture, for example, would deny that the violent legacy of slavery decisively shaped the economy and cultural history of the United States, and I am not proposing to do so for the more distant (from Oregon) pre-modern Mediterranean. A focus on what we might call "culturally productive" processes is not a priori a revisionist approach, or a wilful ignorance of the prejudice, violence, and exploitation that punctuates human history.

2 See Goitein (*Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*); Goitein and Lassner. The recent collection of essays on the movement of texts (chiefly Hebrew and Arabic) throughout the Mediterranean edited by Tzvi Langermann and Robert Morrison follows in Goitein's steps but is mindful of the problematics of the Mediterranean as a category of analysis (Langermann and Morrison). Because their history is distributed among territories that now represent various different nation states, diasporic groups such as Jews and Armenians are a natural object of critical approaches that challenge national paradigms. In the case of Spanish history, the Achilles heel of a nationalist history/philology is to, in the words of María Rosa Menocal,

"see the medieval past as little more than the primitive stages of what will eventually become the real thing" ("Beginnings" 61), to retroactively identify medieval culture as protonational.

3 The most significant critique of Horden and Purcell has been the collection of essays edited by William Harris, who is more convinced of the formers' approach as productive for ecological history ("the exploitation of the vine and olive tree seems to provide both unity and distinctiveness") (4) than for cultural history ("a hard question indeed") (4).

4 Sharon Kinoshita in particular has written on how the French *chanson de geste* and romance are products of a Mediterranean experience, both in the circumstances of their production as well as the world they represent ("Crusades and Identity"; "Negotiating").

5 Karla Mallette writes that "the literary traditions of the medieval Mediterranean are marked by the coexistence of multiple languages and by play between linguistic systems – each, by a curious and at times perilous paradox, defining itself as singular, while implicitly acknowledging and at times explicitly relying on the historical witness of others" ("Boustrophedon" 262). She has written on the use of cosmopolitan languages (Latin, Greek, Arabic, lingua franca) in the Mediterranean context ("Lingua Franca"; "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular").

6 Some recent monographs that take this approach are Karla Mallette's study of the literature of Norman Sicily (*Sicily*), Megan Moore's study of the representation of Mediterranean material culture in French literature, and my own studies of storytelling in literary collections of short narrative (*Framing Iberia*) and of Sephardic literature in Spain and the Sephardic diaspora (*Double Diaspora*). A Mediterranean approach to literary studies is not, however, without its critics. Simone Pinet, for example, questions whether Horden and Purcell's focus on geographic continuity "is not useful for the study of literary texts here: the environment described in these poems is one imagined and produced not from experience but from reference, it is an almost mythical past and place of books, including those of history" (93n3). I would counter that it is the geography that shapes, to a certain extent, the routes and interactions that shape the imaginations and the references she mentions. For example, without the maritime weather patterns that shaped the practice of *cabotage* or sailing close to the coasts and coming to port frequently, facilitating trade (including human trafficking), colonization and diaspora, missionary work, the development of locally-inflected *koinés*, and many different forms of cultural transmission.

7 Menocal defends the role of translation in the afterword to the second edition of *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (2004): "Very few scholars and even fewer students can have direct access to the whole range of languages that are the hallmark of the stunningly

multilingual Middle Ages. Thus, the role of translations of every sort is vital, especially if we want to be able to imagine the European Middle Ages from a Mediterranean perspective, one from which Arabic and Hebrew texts play roles as central as those of Latin and the Romance vernaculars" (158). Thanks to Ryan Szpiech for pointing this reference out to me.

8 Collections of essays by historians such as the students of Robert Burns (Simon et al.), or the editors of the journal *Mediterranean Studies* (Clement et al.) as well as monographic studies by historians such as Jocelyn Hillgarth (*Problem*; *Spain and the Mediterranean*) and David Abulafia (*Emporium*), focus mostly on the Crown of Aragon, whose holdings in the eastern Mediterranean are a natural subject for a Mediterranean approach to Iberian history.

9 One area of research has focused on the activities of Iberian traders in the wider Mediterranean such as Catalans in Genoese *outremer* (Balard), Catalan merchants in eastern Mediterranean (Coulon, "Migrations"), commerce between Iberia and Byzantium (Duran Duelt), between Portugal and the Mediterranean (Barata), or between Byzantine Hispania and the East (Vallejo Girvés).

Other historians have studied different aspects of war and diplomacy such as the exploits of the Crown of Aragon in the eastern Mediterranean (Mutge Vives; Narbona Vizcaíno) or between Christian Iberia and the Greek world more generally (Hassiotis; Morfakidis), coastal raiding between Iberia and north Africa (Coleman), Iberian knights in the eastern crusades (Marcos Hierro), Catalan consulates in Syria (Coulon, "Consulados"), relationships between kingdom of Majorca and the Mameluke Sultanate (13th – 15th c.) (Cateura Bennàsser), or relations between the kingdom of Asturias (Coroneo) or al-Andalus (Signes Codoñer) and Byzantium.

Another group studies the lives of individual Iberians, such as Maghrebi slaves in Christian Iberia (Casares), itinerant friars (García-Serrano), and knights (Legassie), or higher profile individuals such as Benjamin of Tudela (Jacoby; Shalev), Maimonides (Stroumsa), Anselm Turmeda, and Leo Africanus (Epstein; Davis; Zhiri, *L'Afrique*; "Voyages"; "Frontier"). There are also Iberian Mediterranean-focused studies on intercultural dialogue (Salicrú i Lluch), religious minorities (Catlos, *Muslims*) and religious polemic (Tischler). Art historians have studied the circulation of images in Romanesque sculpture and manuscript illumination (Boto Varela), Catalan panel painting in the Byzantine context (ca. 1200) (Castiñeiras), the circulation of Iberian textiles (Navarro Espinach), Byzantine gift objects (Hilsdale, "Image"; *Byzantine Art*) through and pottery (Yangaki).

10 Jacques Lacan first conceived the imaginary as a "state or order of mind of the child before it is inducted into the symbolic order." It is "a state of mind ignorant of the limits of the real and therefore highly creative"

(Buchanan). Literary scholars have used the "imaginary" to denote something like the "collective imagination" that coalesces in a cultural group around a certain idea or theme. Postcolonial (Raman) and decolonial (Pérez) theorists use the terms "colonial imaginary" or "decolonial imaginary" to describe the state of mind and set of ideas and images that promote colonialism or resistance to it. Scholars of Colonial Latin American literature use the idea in describing the image of the encounter between Europe and the Americas. Marta Bermúdez-Gallegos, for example, writes that "the colonial imaginary presents [last Inca Emperor] Atahuallpa as the point of intersection of the two worlds that participate in the drama of colonization" (607).

Scholars of the Middle Ages then extrapolated this idea backwards in time, positing a "medieval imaginary" that shaped colonial discourse. Rene Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, for example, write that "the paths that took [Columbus] to the New World were paved with the medieval imaginary" (5). More recently, medievalists have used the term to describe the ways in which crusader sources constructed images and ideologies around specific themes or ideas. Kathleen Biddick describes how "the desire for martyrdom pulsed through the medieval crusader imaginary" (199). Geraldine Heng, writing about cannibalism, states that "crusader acts of cannibalism were experienced as real after their inscription in the chief cultural documents of crusade history and the crusader imaginary" (*Empire* 25). Here she posits the imaginary as a kind of collective organ of thought that nutures literary representations. I use the term ("crusade" or "crusader" imaginary interchangeably) in a similar spirit, as a way to describe a field of practice in which images and ideas serve to shape representations and ideologies.

11 For an individual knight, taking the cross was an extremely expensive proposition, and according to Christopher Tyerman, "it is hard to identify where crude material profit in the modern sense featured in their motives" (*Crusades* 99). However, he also points out that Italian city states certainly profited from crusades and saw no spiritual contradiction in doing so (*Crusades* 108).

12 Américo Castro imagined Santiago as rising to compete with Mecca in a "grandiose mythomachia" (*Spaniards* 404).

13 On the medieval pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, see Davies and Davies; Fletcher (*Catapult* 78–101); Dunn and Davidson; Martín Cea; Carrasco; González Vázquez.

14 See Bozoky (141) and Walsh and Thomspon. On the relics at Santiago de Compostela, see Mantel.

15 The massive plunder of relics from Byzantium created a need for a literary legitimation of the relics themselves that would, according to David Perry,

"memorialize ... newly acquired relics so as to exempt them from broader scrutiny or criticism" (2). "Mere possession of a new relic, however, was not sufficient to transform potentiality into actuality. For that, a relic needed a story" (3). This need was fulfilled by the *translatio* narratives that provided legitimating texts to authorize plundered relics into the sacred landscapes and practices of the Latin West. On the Fourth Crusade more generally, see Queller and Madden as well as John Phillips' study written for a general audience.

16 Carlos de Ayala Martínez explains that the sacralization of the conquest of al-Andalus began to crystallize conceptually around the polices of Ferdinand I of Leon (r. 1037–65) ("Fernando I") and acquire institutional force and papal support under Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon ("Alfonso VI").

17 On French leadership in the First and Second crusades, see Richard, *Crusades* (28); Lloyd (36–8).

18 O'Callaghan distinguishes between religious war (war between Christians and Muslims) and crusade (papal bull) (*Reconquest* 24). Brian Catlos points out that Castilla-León was far more aggressive in framing campaigns against Muslim enemies as crusades, while the rulers of the Crown of Aragon "certainly made political use of the crusade movement ... but it was not an essential feature of the monarchy's political discourse nor did it provide a basis for the legitimation of its authority" (*Muslims* 85). On the papacy's view of Muslims subject to Christian Iberian monarchs, see Forey, *Papacy*. On the development of the idea of crusade in the Iberian Peninsula, see Jensen; Fonseca.

19 Alfonso VI established a number of Cluniac houses between 1073 and 1080, doubled the *census* established by his father (or, according to Lucy Pick, forged by Alfonso himself), and with their support, replaced the Hispanic rite with the Roman rite. He married Abbott Hugh's niece, Constance of Burgundy, and re-chartered the monastery of Sahagún as a sort of Cluny of Spain in 1080. "Cluny thus became entrenched in Alphonso's realms just at the time when Gregory, on the one hand, was asserting his claims to feudal superiority over Spain, and Alphonso, on the other, was proclaiming his imperial title" (Cowdrey, *The Crusades* 228). Increasing pressure from the Almoravids forced Alfonso to rely on "Cluniac intercessions and Burgundian military support" (Cowdrey, *Cluniacs* 224). Despite the relatively small deployment of Cluniacs, their presence in Aragón and Castile-Leon had a great political and religious impact (Cowdrey, *Cluniacs* 215), though its artistic legacy was minimal (Williams).

20 Matthew Gabriele shows that Urban II was a vocal proponent of Christian conquest of al-Andalus and linked Christian rights to Iberia to Charlemagne's campains there ("Exegete").

21 For example, the *Siete partidas* of Alfonso X recommends that proselytization of subject Jews and Muslims be carried out without using "force nor compulsion in any form" (fuerça nin premia non deuen fazer en ninguna manera) (Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews* 33). Any attempt to bring converted Jews or Muslims back to their former religion once they had become Christians was grounds for severe punishment (Carpenter, "Minorities").

22 In fact, Alfonso X claimed in his will that all of Africa and Spain were meant to be in Christian hands by divine right (O'Callaghan, *Gibraltar* 13; González Jiménez 107–11).

23 See Claster (36). Scholars are in disagreement as to the extent and nature of Cluny's involvement with the First Crusade. Giles Constable suggests that "the perception of Cluniac involvement may in the long run have been more important than any actual influence" (*Crusaders* 195). See also Constable (*Cluny* VI 179–93).

24 See Claster (223). Innocent III first extended plenary remission to noncombatants, including those who sent a substitute or a cash donation, based on the doctrine of the Treasury of Merits; it was not until Hugh of St Cher's formulation in about 1230 that this idea was properly articulated (Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence* 147, 34). A series of popes and patriarchs extended remission from the eastern crusades to those who fought (or otherwise contributed) to campaigns in Iberia (O'Callaghan, *Reconquest* 48).

25 See Purkis (*Crusading* 32). The authenticity of Urban's speech is dubious. Jay Rubenstein writes, "We don't know what he said. No one kept a copy. A few years after the fact, several historians composed versions of the speech, but none of them made any particular claim to accuracy ... We can only speak about what Urban likely said and not what he actually proposed" (*Armies* 22). On Urban's speech at Clermont, see also Cowdrey ("Pope Urban II") and Strack. For English translations of the various versions see Edward Peters (25–36).

26 See Purkis (*Crusading* 33–8). Gaposchkin details the development of the rites for taking the cross (*Invisible* 72–9). On the theology of crusade vows, see Brundage (66–113).

27 See Purkis (*Crusading* 44). The sacralization of the crusade and its actual routes took on various rhetorical forms. The idea of *imitatio Christi* was always associated with pilgrimage to Jerusalem and became imbricated with the symbol of the cross itself (Gaposchkin, *Invisible* 73). The route itself was "known throughout France as the *via Dei*" (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 17). Christopher Tyerman notes that the preaching orders, with their focus on the *via apostolica*, were a natural fit for the organization and preaching of crusades in the early thirteenth century (*How to Plan a Crusade* 71).

28 See Purkis (*Crusading* 51). Peter the Hermit similarly harkened to the values of the early Christians in preaching the First Crusade (Claster 39).

29 See Purkis (*Crusading* 55). Crusaders secured churches in the Levant and facilitated pilgrimage (Mylod 147). They were part of an increasing laicization of pilgrimage brought about by the Gregorian reforms (Gaposchkin, *Invisible* 37). On the connections between pilgrimage and crusade, see also (Gaposchkin, *Invisible* 65–92; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* 65–9; Runciman 13–22; Ní Chléirigh; Davies).

30 In the *Libro de los estados*, Don Juan Manuel writes, "The good Christians hold that God ordained that because the Christians had received such abuse from the Muslims, they are justified in waging war against them, and that those who should die in such war will have fulfilled the commandments of the Holy Church and will be martyrs, and their souls will be exempt of any sin they might have committed" (tienen los Buenos christianos que la rrazón por que Dios consintió que los christianos oviesen reçibido de los moros tanto mal es por que ayan rrazón de aver con ellos Guerra derechureramente et por que los que en ella murieren, aviendo conplido los mandamientos de Sancta Eglesia, sean mártires, et sean las sus ánimas por el martirio quitas del pecado que fizieren) (53).

31 See Purkis (*Crusading* 91–2). On Bernard of Clairvaux's views on crusading, see also Bysted ("The True Year of Jubilee"); Schein; Rowe.

32 See Purkis (*Crusading* 94–5). On Eugenius III and the Second Crusade see also Phillips; Hiestand; Riley-Smith ("The Crusades, 1095–1198").

33 See Purkis (*Crusading* 108). The Christian theology of martyrdom developed over the course of the Middle Ages. In Byzantium, martyrdom was reserved for those who died refusing to aspostasize or repudiate Christianity but was later extended by Emperor Leo VI (886–912) to include those who died in battle (Stephenson 25, 35–6). James Brundage notes that in the West, the popes extended martyrdom to include those who died fighting to defend Christianity beginning in the ninth century (21). Gregory VII exhorted Christians to defend the church with their lives following the Greek defeat at Manzikert in 1071 (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 7). In 1097 "the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem experienced a vision in which Christ himself promised a crown of martyrdom for the dead" of the First Crusade (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 101), a martyrdom that expanded to include not only those who died in combat but also "all those who died good deaths, for whatever reason, on the crusade" (Riley-Smith, *First Crusade* 114). However, as Norman Housely writes "when crusaders were described as martyrs the word was perhaps being used in a celebratory rather than a technical sense," since family charters of those crusaders celebrated as martyrs do not mention the term, and no cult of any crusader martyr developed in the Latin West (Housley 41). On crusader martyrdom, see also Riley-Smith ("Death on the First Crusade"); Cowdrey ("Martyrdom"); Flori; Brundage (21–2).

34 See Riley-Smith (*First Crusade* 13). This account is based on the sole testimony of Bernold of Constance, who maintained in his *Chronicon* (ca. 1100) that Byzantine Emperor Alexius I appeared at the Council of Piacenza to request military aid against the growing Ottoman threat. The fact that this unique eyewitness testimony was composed after the First Crusade casts some doubt as to its authenticity (Somerville 1–27; Berthold Abbot of Zwiefalten and Bernold of Constance).

35 Christian theologians developed doctrines of holy war long before the crusades. Augustine introduced, but did not achieve a systematized vision of Christian holy war (Cowdrey, "Christianity" 177). Christopher Tyerman reminds us that contrary to the idea that theologians of the crusades pressed a pacific Christian theology into the service of war, "violence as an agent of God's purpose" has its roots in the Hebrew Bible whose wars they understood as prefigurations of the conflicts in which they themselves participated. For centures, Christian rulers regularly justified military conflicts as holy war. Charlemagne, for example, "unblushingly proclaimed" his brutal suppression of Saxony as a holy war (Tyerman, "Violence" 187). See also Whitby; Weiler.

36 See Riley-Smith (*First Crusade* 17–19). Certain bishoprics remained active in al-Andalus, especially that of Seville, which was vital until the mid-twelfth century, when Bishop Clement fled to Toledo. A number of bishoprics were reestablished in lands conquered by Christians throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Bishopric of Toledo expanded its influence considerably under the Cluniac Bernard (1086–1124) (Rivera Recio, *Iglesia* 125–96). Increasingly frequent councils also attested to the growing robustness of church life in Iberia, such as those of Coyanza (1055), Jaca (ca. 1063), Gerona (1068), Compostela (1114 and 1124), and Palencia (1129) (O'Callaghan, *History* 308).

37 See Riley-Smith (*First Crusaders* 112). On the Franks' use of the Charlemagne legend in the First Crusade, see Gabriele (*Empire* 139–59).

38 See Riley-Smith (*First Crusaders*139). On the historiography of the First Crusade see Riley-Smith (*First Crusade* 135–52); Edward Peters; Harari; Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use"; Bull; Kempf; Purkis, "Rewriting"; Rubenstein, "Guibert of Nogent").

39 Christopher Tyerman writes, "The Holy Land existed as a virtual reality in the mentality of late eleventh-century western European Christians, a terrestrial relic, a metaphor for Heaven, a goal of life, the scene of the end of time and the Last Judgement as set out in the Book of Revelation" (*How to Plan a Crusade* 31). Crusader writings often exploited the idea of the (biblical) Maccabees as defenders of the Holy Land (Morton). Gregory IX promoted the idea of the kings of France as new kings of Judah and of the crusaders as a new chosen people, which was borne out in royal

Bible manuscripts commissioned by Louis IX (Weiss). The essays edited by Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton touch on various aspects of the crusader biblical imaginary. Contemporary authors imagined crusaders as the Israelites coming from Egypt into the Promised Land, the Maccabees restoring the Temple after its desecration (Bird 320–1), or as Jesus cleansing the Temple of moneychangers (Allen Smith).

40 See Querol Sanz (*Cruzadas y literatura* 14–17). Stephan Vander Elst explains that the *chansons de geste* were important influences on crusade propaganda, whose authors mined the resources and themes of the *chansons*. With the rise of the chivalric romance at the end of the twelfth century, the new genre, structured as a journey in which the knight proves his moral and military worth, came to be very influential in crusade propaganda and crusade-themed *chansons* as well (99–113, 190). We might also add a fourth category, suggested by Sharon Kinoshita: "*matière méditerranéenne*: the literary representation of some of the features and dynamics that historians have seen as distinctively Mediterranean" ("Negotiating" 37).

41 "Elevándolos a la categoría de *Historia*" (Querol Sanz, *Cruzadas y literatura* 21).

42 "Si bien puede verse como deformante de los *acontecimientos*, enriquece nuestro conocimiento actual del mundo que los generó" (Querol Sanz, *Cruzadas y literatura* 21).

43 Cynthia Robinson makes a similar argument regarding Iberian (and especially Castilian) representations of the Passion meant to appeal to the religious sensibilities of former Jews and Muslims (*Imagining the Passion*).

44 On how medieval Iberian Christians identified themselves in opposition to Muslims, see, for example, Castro (*Realidad* 28), and Barkai.

45 See Gil de Zamora (40). Amy Remensnyder writes that the Virgin Mary was an increasingly central figure in the discourse of the conquest of al-Andalus over the eleventh and twelfth centuries (15–30).

46 See Rodríguez García (162–4). Despite Rodríguez García's assertion that the *Crónica de veinte reyes* promotes a discourse of crusade, the text contains almost no reference to holy war in its treatment of the Christian conquest of al-Andalus.

47 See O'Callaghan (*Reconquest* 3–8). Richard Fletcher writes that "it was not until 1123 that pope Calixtus II made it unambiguously plain that he regarded the wars in Spain as crusades. Whether the Spaniards themselves thought of their wars as crusades must remain uncertain until we reach the campaigns of 1147–8 which brought about the conquests of Almería, Lisbon, Lérida, and Tortosa. These were certainly perceived as crusades by the contemporaries who recorded them" (*Catapult* 297–8). The question of reconquest as a historiographical construct is a matter of debate. "Derek Lomax pointed out that the reconquest was not an artificial construct created by modern historians to render the history of medieval Spain intelligible,

but rather 'an ideal invented by Spanish Christians soon after 711' and developed in the ninth-century kingdom of Asturias. Echoing Lomax's language, Peter Linehan remarked that 'the myth of the Reconquest of Spain was invented' in the 880s or thereabouts" (Linehan, *History* 3). According to Derek Lomax himself, "crusading ideas were widespread in Spain, but they were not the only ones there; as in England and France many knights fought and robbed their neighbors irrespective of their religious beliefs. Yet there is a difference. Even the fictional Cid of the poem fights Christians only in self-defence, but he has no compunction at all in plundering pacific Muslim kingdoms, and this epitomizes the general Christian attitude in the twelfth century" (*Reconquest* 103). Francisco García Fitz argues that the concept of "Reconquista" only became solidified in the nineteenth century, "understood as an armed struggle against Islam that would last for eight centuries and that would allow the 'Spaniards' to recuperate their homeland that had been taken from them by the 'foreign' Muslims, would then become the central element of the formation of the identity of Spain as a nation and the common homeland of all its inhabitants" (entendida como una lucha armada contra el islam que se extendería a lo largo de ocho siglos y que permitiría a los 'españoles' la recuperación del solar patrio que les había sido arrebatado por los 'extranjeros' musulmanes, se convertía a partir de entonces el el element nuclear de la formación de la identidad de España como nación y patria común de todos sus habitantes) (*Reconquista* 13). Martín Ríos Saloma provides a very comprehensive overview of Spanish scholarship from the fifteenth century forward concerning the development of the idea of *Reconquista* in Spanish historiography. Most recently, for a survey of the idea of reconquest and crusade in medieval Iberia, see García-Guijarro Ramos.

48 Carlos de Ayala Martínez explains that the sacralization of the conquest of al-Andalus began to crystallize conceptually around the polices of Ferdinand I of Leon (r. 1037–65) ("Fernando I") and acquire institutional force and papal support under Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon ("Alfonso VI").

49 See O'Callaghan (*Gibraltar* 13); González Jiménez (107–11). Alfonso's will states that he is ruler of "all Africa and all Iberia" (tota Africa et tota Yspania) (Daumet 93). See also Craddock.

50 See O'Callaghan (*Calatrava* 1:177–83). On the Order of Calatrava see also Estow; Menache; Medina and Villegas Díaz; Conedera.

51 In the *Recull* see, for example, the "Miracle e eximpli de un religiós qui preycant la croada morí, lo qual après de lla sua mort aparech a un seu amich" (no. 563, p. 185) (Arnoldus of Liège and Etienne de Besançon 1: 185, no. 563). On crusader themes in Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, see Domínguez Prieto ("Materia"); Burgoyne (101 and 104); Rodríguez (203–5).

52 On the *Codex Calixtinus*, see Stones ("Iconography" and "Textual Tradition); Díaz Díaz; Herbers; Subrenat; Yzquierdo Perrín.

53 Purkis notes that Pseudo-Turpin credits Charlemagne with opening the road to Compostela (*Crusading* 164). The chronicle also expands Charlemagne's Iberian conquests to include "the whole of Spain" (Stuckey 141). For an English translation and study, see Poole. We address the mythicization of Charlemagne in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin more fully in the discussion of *Flores y Blancaflor* in chapter 4.

54 See Rodríguez García (180–1). Brian Catlos writes that "although occasionally these rebellions took on a confessional flavour and drew on the rhetoric of religious struggle, they were first and foremost local political events, and were restricted to specific areas of the south: the Valencian hinterland beyond the Xúcar River, Alfonso X's kingdom of Murcia, and parts of Andalucía" (*Muslims* 69). On the Mudéjar rebellion of 1264 in Andalusia and Murcia, see O'Callaghan (*Gibraltar* 34–5) and Harvey (*Islamic Spain* 48–51). On the 1275–6 attacks on Valencian Muslims, see Catlos (*Muslims* 73) and Ledesma Rubio (206).

55 See Rodríguez García (184). In negotiating the surrender of Murcia, Jaume I assured Murcian Muslims that their coreligionaries in newly Christian Majorca exercised perfect freedom of religion under his rule (Burns, *Islam* 135). On the condition of the Mudéjar population of Majorca, see also Lourie; Harvey (*Islamic Spain* 114–17); Catlos (*Muslims* 62–3).

56 See Rodríguez García (187). On the mudéjars under Alfonso X, see Miguel Rodríguez; O'Callaghan ("Mudejars"); Salvador Martínez (164–7).

57 "Unde ultra modum miror, cur terram meam a Sarracenis minime liberasti, qui tot urbes tantasque terras adquisisti. Quapropter tibi notifico, quia sicut Dominus potenciorem omnium regum terrenorum te fecit, sic ad preparandum iter meum et deliberandum tellurem meam a manibus Moabitarum te inter omnes, ut tibi coronam eterne retribucionis exinde preparet, elegit. Caminus stellarum quem in celo vidisti, hoc significat, quod tu cum magno exercitu ad expugnandam gentem paganorum perfidam, et liberandum iter meum et telleurem, et ad visitandam basilicam et sarcofagum meum ... Taliter beatus apostolus tribus vicibus Karolo apparuit. His itaque auditis, Karolus apostolica promissione fretus coadunatis sibi excercitibus multis, ad expugnandas gentes perfidas Yspaniam ingressus est" (Herbers and Santos-Noya 201). In fact, Charlemagne was allied with the Abbasid Empire against the Umayyads in Spain. For a more thorough discussion of Charlemagne's campaigns in Peninsula, and how later medieval authors used this narrative for their own purposes, see chapter 4 on *La crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*.

58 "Crebreo, dilectissimi, quanta mala, quantasque calamitates et angustias Sarraceni in Yspania fratribus nostris christianis inferre ausi sunt, audistis. Qot ecclesias, quot castra et hora devastaverunt, quotque Christianos, scilicet monacos, clericos et laicos, aut gladio perimerunt, aut in horis barbaris et longinquis sub captivitatis dominio vendiderunt, aut diversis

catenis ligatos tenuerunt, aut variis tomentis angustiaverunt ... Idcirco dilectio vestra, filioli mei, queso, intelligat quanta auctoritas sit ire ad Yispanias causa expugnandi Sarracenos, quantaque mercede qui illuc libenter perrexerint, remunerabuntur. Fertur namque quod Karolus Magnus, Galliorum rex famosissiumus, magis pre ceteris regibus itinera yspanica innumeris laboribus gentes perfidas expugnando disposuit, et beatus Turpinus archiepiscopus remensis, consocius eius, coadunato tocius Gallie et Lotharingie omnium episcoporum concilio apud Remis, urbem Galliorum, a vinculis omnium peccatorum suorum cunctos qui in Yspania ad expugnandum gentem perfidam, et ad augmentum christianitatem, captivosque christianos ad liberandum, et ad accipiendum ibi pro divino amore martyrium ... Et quicumque hanc epistolam transcriptam de loco ad locum, vel de ecclesia ad ecclesiam perlataverit, omnibusque palam predicaverit, perhenni gloria remuneretur. Igitur hec annunciantibus huc et pergentibus illuc, sit pax continua, decus et leticia, expugnancium victoria, fortitudo et vita prolixa, salus et gloria. Quod ipse prestare dignetur, Ihesus Christus Dominus noster, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet, in secula seculorum, Amen. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat" (Herbers and Santos-Noya 228–9).

59 See González (*Ultramar* 29). On the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar,* see the edition of Louis Cooper, and studies by González (*Ultramar*); Benito-Vessels; Domínguez Prieto ("Antiocha"); Biglieri; Bautista Pérez ("Composición").

60 Ferdinand III was also canonized as a crusader, but not until the seventeenth century; he was more the patron saint of New Spain (he did, after all, give his name to the San Fernando Valley in what is now the state of California) than of Andalusia.

61 See González (*Ultramar* 57–8). See also the edition of the *Naissance du Chévalier au cygnet* (Nelson and Mickel), and Roberts's study of Godefroy de Bouillon (Roberts) and W.J. Barron's study of the various versions of the legend. In the case of both the Chévalier au Cygne and Mélusine, it is the crusading mission that legitimates the hero with faerie ancestry (Gaullier-Bougassas). See also George Evans's dissertation on the mythic material in the epic poem ("Mythic Structures") and his article on its Christian context ("Christian Context").

62 See Rodríguez García (226). Louis IX's campaign against Damietta ended in "disaster" (Richard, *Saint Louis* 113), and his Tunisian campaign ended in his own death, followed by his army's retreat under the command of his son Phillip III (Richard, *Saint Louis* 314–29). On the defeats suffered by Louis IX in his crusading campaigns, see also the excerpts of the accounts by Ibn Wasil (ca. 1282) and al-Maqrizi (ca. 1440), and the letter of Louis IX to France (Bird et al. 360–73). Alfonso was relatively more successful, and was able to assume control of the Algarve, Cádiz, and Niebla. He put down rebellions in Andalusia and Murcia, pacified Granada, and

(very briefly) conquered Salé in north Africa (O'Callaghan, *History* 360–70; Salvador Martínez 159–60).

63 See Rodríguez García (217–18). One of the first narratives written in Castilian, the *Fazienda de Ultramar* was an important source for the crusader biblical imaginary in Iberian literature. It was innovative in that it incorporated geographical knowledge of the Latin itineraries to the Holy Land with the novelistic narrative of early Castilian translations of the Bible (Martí). Emily Francomano writes that it is "clearly a text produced within the context of the crusades, wherein vernacular audiences are provided access to information about the contended Holy Land as well as the Scriptural background justifying its conquest" (317). On the text's origins and sources, see Kedar ("Fazienda"). See also the online transcription (with manuscript images, introduction, and complete bibliography) of David Arbesú-Fernández. On Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*, see Buridant's edition and French translation.

64 José Rodríguez García points out several such examples in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* of Gonzalo de Berceo and in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X (236–55).

65 See O'Callaghan (*Cantigas*); Alfonso X (*Songs* 439). César Domínguez Prieto studies the *Cantigas* in the broader context of crusade culture ("Lírica y cruzadas"), while Edward Holt focuses on the "crusading spirituality" reflected in the songs. Cantiga 205 contains a reference to the Cross of Santiago, the symbol of the Order of Santiago (Cabrerizo Hurtado). On themes of Christian conquest of al-Andalus in the *Cantigas*, see also Paredes Núñez; Benito de Pedro.

66 "e por aquesto te rogo, Virgen santa corõada,/ pois que tu es de Deus Filla e Madr'e nossa vogada, / que esta merçee aja por ti de Deus acabada, /que de Mafomet a seita possa eu deitar d'Espanna" (Alfonso X, *Cantigas* 231).

67 See Goñí Gaztambide (187–8); O'Callaghan (*Learned King* 162–71, *Cantigas* 99). Alfonso then lead a successful expedition to the north African city of Salé, then under the control of the Benimerin dynasty (successors to the Almohads), in 1260 (O'Callaghan, *Cantigas* 101).

68 Colin Smith edits and translates into English the "entirely mythical" account of the Battle of Hacinas found in the *Poema de Fernán González* (Smith et al. 54–61) See also García Fitz (*Castilla y León* 280–2); Hazbun (142).

69 "¿Duermes, Fernand Gonçalez? Leuantate et uete pora tu companna, ca Dios te a otorgado quantol demandaste. Et sepas que vençras a Almançor et a todo su poder, pero perderas y mucha de tu companna. et aun te dize mas Nuestro Sennor: que porque tu eres su uasallo, que te enviara all aspotol sant Yague et a mi, et con nusco muchos angeles en ayuda, et paresçremos todos en la batalla con armas blancas, et traera cada uno de

nos cruz en su pendon; et quando los moros nos vieren, uencersean, et dexaran el campo a pesar de si" (Alfonso X, *Primera crónica general* 400–1).

70 Examples of such crusader imagery are also found in *Gran crónica de Alfonso XI* (Alfonso XI 2: 418–21, chaps. 326–7; Rodríguez García 207).

71 "et tantas fueron las gentes quel creyeron que se apoderaron de muchas tierras, et aun tomaron muchas – et tiénenlas hoy en día – de las que eran de los christianos que fueron convertidos por los apóstoles a la fe de Jhesu Christo. et por esto a Guerra entre los christianos et los moros, et abra fasta que ayan cobrado los christianos las tierras que los moros les tienen forçadas ... Et tienen los Buenos christianos que la rrazón por que Dios consintió que los christianos oviesen reçibido de los moros tanto mal es por que ayan rrazón de aver con ellos Guerra derechureramente et por que los que en ella murieren, aviendo conplido los mandamientos de Sancta Eglesia, sean mártires, et sean las sus ánimas por el martirio quitas del pecado que fizieren" (Juan Manuel, *Libro de Los Estados* 53).

72 "Vayan conquerir Granada / por Dios padre, que más val / que le otorgo la cruzada / e las décimas otrotal" (Yáñez 3–5, st. 6–9).

## 1 *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani*: Andalusi Muslim Crusade Fiction

1 The tale of *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* (ca. 1250) exists in two manuscript versions: one in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional Antigua G.g. 195), and another in the Escorial library (MS Árabes 1876). It does not appear in Miguel Casiri's catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Escorial (Casiri), but Braulio Justel Calabozo does mention it in his (38–9). It is a plain manuscript written in a clear Maghrebi hand with red rubrics and no miniatures. In 1882 Spanish Arabist Francisco Fernández y González published a Spanish language translation of the text, giving it the title *Zeyyad ibn Amir el de Quinena* (Fernández y González). I have so far been able to find only two mentions of the text in modern criticism, the first in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Orígenes de la novela* (xliii–xlv), and the second in Ángel González Palencia's *Historia de la literatura arábigoespañola* (346). With the exception of the 2009 Arabic edition of al-Shenawi, the text has almost completely evaded the scholarly gaze.

2 Gabrielle Spiegel reminds us that literary prose fiction only just began to emerge in France at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the product of aristocratic literacy's response to the epic song (*chanson de geste*) tradition (66–7).

3 Given that we have only a date for the manuscript and not for the text itself, and that the provenance of the manuscript is uncertain (Granada or Maghreb), it is still safe to say that the work is part of Andalusi Iberian practice if the work circulated (i.e., was read, recited, copied, etc.) in al-Andalus.

4 This convention is also found in the *101 Nights* tradition, attested in western Islam, which adopts the same setting at the court of Shahriyar as in *1001 Nights* (Fudge 1; Marzolph and Chraïbi 301; Ott 244). Three of the stories in the *Tales of the Marvellous* collection are also set at the court of Harun al-Rashid (Lyons, *Marvellous* 181, 257, 333).

5 On the *Ayyam al-'Arab*, see Jones; Ramírez del Río (*Orientalización*); Galmés de Fuentes (*"Batallas"*). Material from *Ayyam al-'Arab* is often reworked in later *siras* (Mittwoch).

6 The earliest manuscript of *Sirat Antar* dates to the mid-fifteenth century, but the vast majority are from the eighteenth century or later (Heath, *Thirsty* 328–9).

7 Ibn Quzman made it amply clear in the prologue to his *Diwan* (collected poems) that he was using a colloquial register of Arabic and not, as some have claimed, a kind of Middle Arabic. In fact, he criticizes earlier authors of vernacular *zajal* poetry for using Classical Arabic vowel endings (case markers) in their compositions (Monroe, "Ibn Quzman"). On the question of the literary vernacular in al-Andalus more generally, see Monroe ("Ibn Quzman"); López-Morillas ("Language" 6); Buturovic 295.

8 In the post-classical period, "authors displayed more and more willingness to write in a colloquial style" (Reynolds, "Popular Prose" 256). For this they were condemned by the likes of tenth-century Andalusi writer Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi (author of the definitive courtly manual *al-'Iqd al-Farid*, "The Unique Necklace"), who identified popular fiction as the "idle talk" referred to in Qur'an 23:3 (Reynolds, "Popular Prose" 253). Similarly, the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Kathir (d. 1373) refers to popular siras as "lies, falsehood, stupid writings, complete ignorance, and shameless prattle which is only in demand by fools and lowly ignoramuses" (Reynolds, "Popular Prose" 260).

9 On Andalusi linguistic features of the text of the *101 Nights*, see Ott (266–7); Fudge (xxxvi).

10 Galmés de Fuentes notes that the first literary recension of the *Ayam al-'Arab* was by the Andalusi author Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi (*"Batallas"* 1: 36–7).

11 This includes the *Sirat Bani Hilal, or* the exploits of the Banu Hilal tribe, primarily in north Africa (Reynolds, "*Sīrat Banī Hilāl*").

12 I use the term "Arabic heroic narrative" to include Arabic narratives about heroes of historic Islamic conquest (such as the *Ayam al-'Arab* and *Sirat Bani Hilal*, as well as other siras) as well as those whose exploits are fictional, whether set in a (semi-)historical world (*Sirat Dhat al-Himma*) or one of sheer invention (*Ziyad*). I acknowledge that our modern terminology is problematic, in that medieval audiences did not perceive generic boundaries in the same way we have come to.

13 Emilio González Ferrín points out that the proliferation of treatises on Arab lineages coincides perfectly with Ibn Hazm's projection of Arab-ness onto Andalusi literary culture (93–4). These lineages were most often based on claims not of direct lineage but of tribal affiliation (*asabiyya*) through the institution of *mawliyya* or client status, by which a family converted to Islam during the early period of expansion would affiliate with (and be granted protection from) an Arab tribe. *Asabiyya* persisted as a social and political structure in al-Andalus up to the Morisco period (sixteenth century). This does not prove genealogical descent of Andalusis from Peninsular Arabian tribes, or even blood relationships between affiliates, but rather demonstrates the durability of tribal affiliation as a meaningful institution (Guichard 497; Caro Baroja 39–53). In the final analysis, however, Arab identity in eleventh-century al-Andalus is linguistic and cultural rather than racial (González Ferrín 308; Maíllo Salgado 23–4).

14 Andalusi writers were frequent compilers of the *al-siyar wa-l-maghazi* of Ibn Ishaq, in the rescension by Ibn Hisham. Ibn Hayr attributes such compilations to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 1071) (*Durar fi ikhtisar al-maghazi wa-l-siyar*) and Yahya ibn Yahya (d. 848). Later commentators leave us volumes on the *sirat* such as the *al-Rawd al-'Unuf* of al-Suhayli (d. 1185) (Galmés de Fuentes, *Épica* 37).

15 See Ramírez del Río (*Orientalización* 92–109). Ibn Hayyan reports two specific (but no longer extant) tenth-century Andalusi epic poems describing the Muslim conquest of al-Andalus, one by al-Ghazal in the *rajaz* metre that was in his time widely diffused. The other is by Tammam ibn Alqama, also in *rajaz*, narrating the conquest of al-Andalus and listing the first governors and caliphs, from Tariq to the last days of Abd al-Rahman II (Ribera 106). The writer Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi included one such poem, translated by Monroe ("Arjūza"), versifying the conquests of Abd al-Rahman III in his massive compilation *al-'Iqd al-Farid* ("The Unique Necklace"). On the *urjuza* (narratives of conquest in *rajaz* metre), see Heinrichs and Ullmann.

16 Scholars continue to debate the origins of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (Song of My Cid), the Castilian epic poem glorifying the exploits of the eleventh-century warlord Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar. "Traditionalists" maintain that the poem is the product of a popular epic song tradition in which each performance is unique based on the proclivities of the singer in question. "Individualists" argue that the poem was composed by a learned cleric working from popular materials (Michael 46–8; Armistead 503–4).

17 José Ramírez del Río argues that just as Menéndez Pidal demonstrated that Castilian historiography relied heavily on *cantares de gesta*, so Andalusi historiography relied on *sirat* modelled after earlier Arabic siras such as the *Ayyam al-'Arab* and the *Bani Hilal* ("Notas" 223).

18 Ziyad eventually is crowned king of the Bani Hilal ("Beni-hilel") tribe (Al-Shenawi 82; Fernández y González 15). The image of the *Bani Hilal* as fierce fighters reflected in epic and here in popular prose responds not only to tradition but also to political reality. The expansion of Seville under the Almohads required the construction of a defensive perimeter (city wall) and increased military presence in the area to defend inhabitants from local Arab clans claiming descent from the Bani Hilal (Alan Jones; Ramírez del Río, *Orientalización*). See also Fernández y Gonzalez's comments on the legacy of the tribe of Kinan in al-Andalus (4). This trope has its parallel in heroes of later Iberian romances who are crowned emperor (Rodilla León "Troya" 307–8).

19 Crusaders also feature prominently in many siras. See Lyons ("Crusading").

20 In the first half of the thirteenth century, Granada paid Castile tribute that was economically crippling, amounting to a full half of the emir's rents. They were later reduced, but Granada remained politically and militarily subject to Castile until its elimination in 1492 (Viguera Molins 87; Ladero Quesada 86–7, 217).

21 In the "*Maqama* of the Festival," al-Azdi combines the author, protagonist, and narrator in his first-person narrator, much as Juan Ruiz does in his first-person author/narrator/protagonist of the *Libro de buen amor*, and to a certain extent in Guillaume de Machaut's *Dit Voir* (Wacks, *Framing Iberia* 186n84).

22 Italian artists contracted by Nasrid kings painted murals in Alhambra's Hall of Justice that represented scenes influenced by local Iberian versions of *Tristan and Isolde* and *Floire et Blancheflor* (Cynthia Robinson, "Arthur"). These examples run counter to the idea of the Alhambra as a swan song of Arab culture in a time of Castilian domination. Oleg Grabar, for example, describes the Alhambra as an aesthetic throwback to the days of the Abbasid caliphate (207).

23 At the same time the author of *Ziyad* also represents practices, such as kissing the stirrup of a superior, that are well documented in historical as well as literary representations (Fernández y González 7, 19, 29, 31). The practice is also amply attested in *Sirat 'Antar* (Hamilton 35, 121, 125, 280). See also Qurashī 243; Sanders 20.

24 On the influence of Romance literature on medieval Sephardic authors, see, for example, Schirmann ("Contes rimées" 295; "Isaac Gorni" 177) and Wacks ("Hispano-Hebrew"). The Hebrew poet Todros Abulafia likewise adopted troubadouresque motifs while working alongside Provençal and Galician-Portuguese troubadours at the court of Alfonso X of Castile (Wacks, *Double Diaspora* 64–96).

25 Boaz Shoshan describes traditional Arabic historiographical texts as "a reflection of the state of mind and agenda of their creators and transmitters, and a response to the interests of the milieu of their consumers" (6).

26 This is not the place for an overview of theories of fictionality, or even for a full discussion of the political uses of fictional narratives. However, we can agree with Richard Walsh that it is helpful to understand fiction as a rhetorical device that is more poetic than empirical, and that expresses truths that may not correspond to events as they actually occurred (Richard Walsh 14; Cohn 788; White 10–28; Agapitos and Mortensen 18).

27 Christian Iberian elites from the eleventh century forward were avid consumers of Andalusi material culture (Dodds, "The Arts of Al-Andalus"; Feliciano; Dodds et al. 74; Fuchs, *Exotic* 13). The enthusiasm of Christian patrons for Andalusi architecture made possible a massive corpus of mudéjar monuments (Borrás Gualis; Cynthia Robinson, "Mudéjar Revisited").

28 On the Arthurian tradition in Iberia, see Hook.

29 Catalans appear to have read Arthurian material in the French, as is well documented from the fourteenth century forward (Entwistle 85–101).

30 On such biculturality in the *romances fronterizos*, see MacKay and Bartlett (218–43).

31 See, for example, the narrator's detailed description of the castle of al-Jamuh (Al-Shenawi 76; Fernández y González 13).

32 See al-Shenawi 73; Fernández y González 11. Elsewhere I have argued that idea of the garland of flowers as headdress is far more characteristic of western European, rather than Islamicate literary tastes. A sixteenth-century Hebrew translation of *Amadís de Gaula* made in Constantinople substitutes a crown for the garland worn in the original Spanish version (Wacks, *Double Diaspora* 203).

33 See Al-Shenawi (76); Fernández y González (13). Compare to the detailed descriptions of exteriors and interiors in Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian romances (198, 392, 475).

34 See Al-Shenawi (86); Fernández y González (20). Compare to descriptions of combat in Chrétien de Troyes (78–9, 260–1, 280–1).

35 As a youth 'Antar killed a lion with his bare hands, "seiz[ing] hold of the beast's mouth with his hands, and wrench[ing] it open to his shoulders" (Hamilton 39). This is before he acquires his sword *Zami* ("thirsty") and his horse Abjar (Kruk, "Sirat 'Antar" 296).

36 *Ziyad* is not the only example of Arthurian-influenced discourse in the Hebrew and Arabic literature of Iberia. In the mid-thirteenth century, Jacob ben Elazar (Toledo) wrote a story of two young lovers, "Sahar and Kima," in which he likewise employed several tropes and motifs drawn from the *fin amors* of the troubadours, substituting feats of rhetoric for feats of arms in service of love (Wacks, *Double Diaspora* 34–63). Ben Elazar also sets his

tale in a biblically flavoured Mediterranean that resonates with the western literary imaginary of the eastern Mediterranean found in (Christian) pilgrimage itineraries and crusade narratives of the times. We will discuss this literature and its impact on the *Libro del Caballero Zifar* in chapter 2.

37 Rhymed prose (*sajj'*) was used in pre-Islamic Bedouin society for traditional descriptions of weather and landscape as well as for divination (Fahd, Sadj).

38 For example, the Andalusi polemicist Ahmad ibn García famously disdains the traditional diet of desert Arabs as a "the mouthful of colocynth seeds in the deserts or the eggs of lizards taken from their nests" (Monroe, *Shu'ubiyya* 25–6; original Arabic in Abbadi 35).

39 The historian Ibn Hayyan reports, for example, that King al-Mu'tadid of Seville kept a harem of some 600 wives (Rubiera Mata, introducción 14; Catlos, *Muslims* 451). For a full discussion of the question of multiple marriage in *Caballero Zifar*, see the following chapter.

40 On the fusion of the chivalric code with that of courtly love in chivalric literature, see Lupack (85); Keen (245–9). Peninsular Hebrew also follows the Arthurian lead: Todros Abulafia (Toledo, late thirteenth century) adapts troubadouresque ideas of courtly love in his Hebrew compositions (Wacks, *Double Diaspora* 91). In Jacob ben Elazar's "Sahar and Kima" (Toledo, mid-thirteenth century), the protagonists discuss a code of courtly love that is appropriate for noble lovers (Wacks, *Double Diaspora* 62). On the tropes of French chivalric romance in "Sahar and Kima," see also Bibring.

41 While the chivalric romance is not, formally speaking, a conduct manual, it is a sort of novelized example of chivalric conduct, full of details of chivalric culture and behaviour, that might supplement the study of a conduct manual (Baumgartner 174).

42 I have written on this phenomenon elsewhere in the de-Christianization and "Judaization" of the Hebrew translation (ca. 1550) of the Spanish chivalric novel *Amadís de Gaula* (1507) (Wacks, *Double Diaspora* 182–205).

43 Fernández y Gonález reads "al-Jahayya," which he translates as "*Cielo Sereno*" (Clear Sky). Shenawi reads "al-Jahamiyya," ostensibly from the root *J-H-M*, which is closer to "Cloudy Sky."

44 See Al-Shenawi (97–101); Fernández y González (29–31). The motifs are documented by Stith Thompson (1: 382–4, 3: 40–2). For examples in French Arthurian texts, see Guerreau-Jalabert (167, 173) and Ruck (30, 62).

45 On the figure of the female warrior in the popular Arabic epics (siras), see Kruk (*Warrior Women*). See also the examples of women warriors (like al-Jahamiyya, also dressed as males) in the *Hundred and One Nights* (Fudge 94–7 and 100–1). On women disguised as men in thirteenth-century Hebrew and Romance literatures, see Koch.

46 Perhaps not coincidentally, it appears in the *Libro del caballero Zifar* in the episode of the Fortunate Islands when the Devil, taking the form of a beautiful woman, appears to Roboán and sleeps with him: "It happened that one day the emperor was going to the forest, and the devil saw him away from his companions in pursuit of a stag; so he appeared before him in the shape of a woman – the most beautiful one in the world" (C.L. Nelson 279); (Acaesçio qeu vn dia andando el enperador a monte, que lo vido el diablo apartado de su gente, yendo tras vn venado, e parosele delante en figura de muger, la mas fermosa del mundo) (González, *Libro* 415).

47 See Al-Shenawi (98); Fernández y González (30). Believing *jinn* who marry humans are also mentioned in the *1001 Nights* (El-Shamy 69) and in the tenth-century collection of tales, *Hikayat al-'ajiba wa-l akhbar al-ghariba* (*Tales of the Marvellous and News of the Strange*) (Lyons, *Marvellous* xxvi). On the *jinn* in Islam, see MacDonald and Massé.

48 Compare to the pagan Astrologer King, discussed below, who similarly predicted Ziyad's arrival (Al-Shenawi 105; Fernández y González 34).

49 For example, in *Sirat al-amira Dhat al-Himma*, the warrior Sahsah falls in love with a *jinn* princess (Lyons, *Arabian* 3: 317). Hamza, hero of *Qissat al-Amir Hamzat al-Pahlawan*, kills a female *jinn* who pursues a human man, wishing to marry him (Lyons, *Arabian* 3: 554). A *jinn* queen tends the hero's wounds in *Sirat Saif bin Dhi Yazan* (Lyons, *Arabian* 3: 635).

50 The Qur'an makes specific mention of the cults of Allat and al-'Uzza. Among the Arabs of Central Arabia, Lat (Allat) was the solar goddess, patroness of the Thaqif tribe, whose sanctuary was at Ta'if. Al-'Uzza was associated with Venus and was the patroness of the tribe of Quraysh. Her shrine was in Hourad on the road from Mecca to Baghdad (Ryckmans 15). The ninth-century writer Abu-l-Mundhir Hisham ibn Muhammad ibn al-Sa'ib ibn Bishr al-Kalbi (d. 821–2) of Kufa cataloged a series of references to Allat and al-'Uzza from the pre-Islamic poets (Ibn al-Kalbī 15–29). In north Arabia, the cult of Atarsamain was associated with Allat, who under Hellenistic influence was the avatar of either Venus, or according to Herodotus, Aphrodite Urania (the Phoenician Astarte). The people of Edessa (today Syria) worshipped the morning star Venus as a female personification of Mars (Teixidor 68–9; Hawting, *Idolatry* 130).

51 See Hillenbrand (255–9). See also the many examples from Malcolm Lyons's study of the *siyar* (*Arabian* 3: 145, 151, 158, 168, 213, 603, 607, 614).

52 On later crusaders' intimate familiarity with Islam and Eastern culture, see Kinoshita ("Crusades and Identity").

53 Norman Daniel reminds us we should understand "pagans" as pre-Constantine Roman persecutors of Christians, a type very familiar from French and Iberian narrative traditions of local martyrs (131).

54 See Tolan (*Saracens* 127). Suzanne Akbari writes that a number of medieval *chansons de geste* portray Muslims as "fierce, belligerent idol worshippers" (*Idols* 203). See her exhaustive discussion of Muslims as idol worshippers (*Idols* 200–47). On "Saracens" as idol worshippers, see also Kinoshita and Calkin.

55 On the conversion of Saracens in French romance, see Daniel (179–212)

56 See Ramey (56–8). In the *Siete Infantes de Lara* there is also the case of Garci Gómez's marriage to the sister of Almanzor while he is in captivity in Cordova though she does not convert to Christianity. Their son Mudarra eventually does so after going on a journey to find his Christian father in Castile (Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda* 220–1, 262; Mirrer 17–18; Barton 139–41).

57 The "Tree of Colors" is possibly a reference to the "Lote Tree" mentioned in the Qur'an (53:16) and described in a *hadith* (saying of the Prophet Muhammad) as being "shrouded in colors." Also, early Muslims believed that pagan Arabs worshipped the goddess al-'Uzzah (Qur'an 53:19) in the form of a tree. According to the tradition recorded by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Kitab al-Asnam* (*Book of Idols*), Muhamamd ordered Khalid ibn Walid to destroy the trees thought to be inhabited by al-'Uzzah (F.E. Peters 237). Both the *Sirat Antar* and *Bani hilal kubra* traditions feature tree worshippers (Lyons, *Arabian* 3: 54, 258).

58 See El-Shamy (165, 187, 253, 462). It is interesting to note, however, that the Andalusi rabbi Moses ben Maimun (Maimonides) wrote against astrologers as idolaters in both his *Letter on Astrology* (in which he calls astrology the "root of all idolatry") and in his *Letter on Idolatry* as well (463–73).

59 Astrology in medieval Islam was a well-regarded discipline whose practitioners were courtiers, physicians, political advisors, and the like, whose advice was often taken into account in making difficult political decisions (Saliba). In Hawting's study on idolatry in early Islam (*Umayyad*) there is not a single mention of astrology, which suggests that the association of astrology with idolatry and more generally with evil is a later, and probably Christian, development. Such Christian suspicions notwithstanding, Jewish scholars in Christian Iberia continued to practice Andalusi astrology in Arabic. In Aragon around the year 1400, Joseph ibn Nahmias wrote an Aristotelian astrological treatise, *Nur al-'alam* (*Light of the World*) in Judeo-Arabic (Ibn Nahmias).

60 Partida VII, Title XXIII, Law I (Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas*, Sánchez-Arcilla 335–6; Corry 82).

61 See Wedel (100–1). Compare with Midrashic (Jewish narrative exegesis) traditions of Abraham as astrologer (Jacobs 86–8); keeping in mind that *Genesis Rabbah* (a canonical source of Midrash) also depicts God reminding Abraham: "Thou art a prophet, not an astrologer" (44: 12) (Neusner),

ostensibly to distinguish him from his fellow Mesopotamians, who are associated with astrology in Jewish tradition.

62 "Los moros, bien sabedes, que s'guían por estrellas, / non se guían por Dios, que se guían por ellas, / otro Criador nuevo han fecho ellos dellas, / diz que por ellas veen muchas de maravellas" (Martínez 128, st. 477–8; Corry 148).

63 "Começo mirar las estrellas e echar suertes, porque pensava adevinar las cosas que havía de venir" (Cooper 1: 323; Corry 152).

64 Notwithstanding the doctrine of *ahl al-dhimma*, some Muslim thinkers did not hesitate to describe Christians as *mushrikun* or polytheists due to their veneration of statues of Jesus, Mary, and the saints (Lapiedra Gutiérrez 158–75; Serrano Ruano 739). Ibn Hazm of ó (d. 1064) criticized the doctrine of the Trinity as "'the most fatuous' (*ahmaqu shirk*) of idolatries," on the basis that the "deification of Jesus ... postulates the existence of a second God" (Behloul 475).

## 2 A Knight Errant in the Iberian Crusade Imaginary: *Libro del Caballero Zifar*

1 For reasons I am about to make clear, I have altered Charles Nelson's rendering of *caldeo* as "Syriac" to "Arabic" (6). "E porque la memoria del ome ha luengo tienpo, e non se pueden acordar los omes de las cosas mucho antiguas sy las non fallan por escripto, e porende el trasladador de la estoria que adelante oyredes, que fue trasladada de caldeo en latin e de latin en romance, puso e ordeno estas dos cosas sobredichas en esta obra, por que los que venieren despues de los deste tienpo, sera quando el año jubileo a de ser, porque puedan yr a ganar los bien auenturados perdones que en aque tienpo son otorgados a todos los que alla fueren, e que sepan que este fue el primer cardinal que fue enterrado en España" (González, *Libro* 70–1).

2 See Hernández and Linehan (400–1). The journeys of both Zifar and Roboán conform to the mythic hero's journey by which the protagonist is redeemed through his good deeds. (Bedoya Villegas). For Duclos Talbotier, *Zifar*'s journey is an allegory for the bull of pilgrimage issued by Boniface VIII for the 1300 jubilee year and for Luis Girón Negrón, the *Zifar* and especially the journey in the prologue of Ferrant Martínez to Rome follows the hagiographic conventions of translations of saints' bodies. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua asserts that Ferrant Martínez is the prologue's author, and notes that the anecdote of Martínez travelling to Rome is itself an exemplum used to frame the work.

3 On the origins and destiny of Zifar, see Campos García Rojas.

4 In fact, Michael Harney positively identified al-Zuhri's *Geography* as one of the chief sources of geographic material in *Zifar*, adding further weight to the idea that part of *Zifar*'s ideological project is a performance of

Andalusi science and learning ("Geography"; "More on the Geography"). The question of the work's representation of the geographic science of the day is further complicated when we look at *Zifar* next to the *101 Nights*. One of the manuscripts of the *101 Nights* is bound with al-Zuhri's *Geography*, and so the anthologist (and the literary culture of the times) would have associated the descriptions of exotic locales real or imagined as a form of geography. On the Arabic geographic sources of *Zifar*, see also Coussemacker (131–8).

5 In his prologue to *Cligés*, Chrétien de Troyes writes that "our books have taught us how Greece ranked first in chivalry and learning; then chivalry passed to Rome along with the fund of transcendent learning that has now come to France" (93).

6 See Fuchs, *Romance* (40); Segre (28); Gaunt (47–8). I am not arguing that *Zifar* is a chivalric romance. I prefer Cristina González's description of the work as a "novela medieval," (medieval novel) which she renders in English as "romance," without going so far as to call it a "novela de caballerías" or chivalric romance, which would put it in the same box as *Amadís de Gaula* and his successors (*Reino lejano* 1n1). This is not the place to debate the work's bona fides as a specifically *chivalric* romance; frankly, I am not clear as to what is to be gained by such an argument.

7 On the related topic of conversion as a form of social capital (in the works of Ramon Llull) see Johnston (*Persecuting Society*).

8 "asy commo contesçio a vn cauallero de las Yndias do andido predicando sant Bartolome apostol, despues de la muerte de Nuestro Saluador Iesu Cristo: el qual cauallero ouo nombre Zifar de bautismo, e despues ouo nonbre el Cauallero de Dios, porque se touo el sienpre con Dios e Dios con el en todos los fechos, asy commo adelante oyredes, podredes ver e entrendredes por las sus obras" (González, *Libro* 72).

9 In addition to narratives of the Apostles and Christ set in Palestine, there are a number set in Egypt (Macarius, Anthony, John the Almoner, Mary of Egypt, Thais, Catherine), Antioch (Timothy, John Chrysostom, Barnabas, Margaret, Justina, Pelagia), Tarsus (Quiricus), India (Bartholomew, Barlaam and Josaphat), Carthage (Augustine), and Persia (St James the Dismembered) (Jacob of Voragine). These and other saints' lives were translated into Castilian and widely diffused during the thirteenth century (Baños Vallejo, *Hagiografía* 235).

10 We refer here to the protagonists of *Tirant lo Blanc* (on which see chapter 5) and *Las sergas de Esplandían* (1510), by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, sequel to his blockbuster *Amadís de Gaula* (1507) (Díaz Mas, "Eco"; Piera, "Rehistoricizing").

11 Jubran writes, "Internal-Orientalism ... involves the celebration of the 'other' within the historiography of Spanish national culture and identity" (45).

12 Of Santiago, John Walsh writes that his legacy was so compelling that the ninth-century "discovery" of his bones in Compostela "lure[d] a whole continent to wind down around the Pyrenees and across the top of the Peninsula" (1). Joseph O'Callaghan notes that Santiago's militarization was one effect of the increasing influence of Cluniac clerics in northern Spain and intermarriage between the royal family of Castile-Leon and the House of Burgundy (*Reconquest* 24).

13 Isidore's bones were translated from Seville to Leon in 1031, where he becomes patron saint, usually of legal proceedings. In the *Poema de Mio Cid* (composed ca. 1150) Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar swears upon Isidore's name in court, but by Santiago's as a battle cry. However, by the twelfth century Isidore is portrayed in the *Continuatio Chronicorum* as personally (and fictionally) driving Mohammed out of Cordova (López Santos 402; López Ortiz 20). In the following century, Alfonso X's *Primera crónica general* represents him on horseback rallying Christian troops against their Muslim enemy (Pérez de Urbel 278; López Santos 403).

14 The miraculous preservation of Rodrigo Díaz's body may well have been a hagiographical understanding of superior embalming technology of Valencian Andalusi physicians (Russell 64). It is worth noting that such popular cults and legends applied equally to the bodies of churchmen. The author of the prologue of *Zifar* notes that when the people of Toledo came out to receive the procession that carried Cardinal Gudiel's body, they sang not the traditional songs for the dead, but rather "ecce saçerdos magnus" (behold the great priest) and other songs sung during saints' festivals (González, *Libro* 69).

15 See Chamberlin (393–4, 399). This is one of the necessary conditions for canonization – no doubt under the example of Louis IX, canonized in 1297 only twenty-seven years after his death. Ferdinand, on the other hand, would wait centuries before his canonization in 1671.

16 Carroll Johnson wrote that because he had only six weeks in which to complete his task, Cidi Hamete Benengeli was probably not meant to be a translator, but rather a *transliterator* of an *aljamiado* (Castilian in Arabic script) version of *Don Quijote* (Johnson 212). This is coincidentally corroborated by a real life, anonymous transliterator of an Aljamiado Qur'an in Toledo in 1606 (the year after Cervantes published the first part of the *Quijote*, who relates that he was able to transliterate (not translate) the entire Qur'an from Arabic script into Roman characters, despite the short time period he was able to borrow the book (López-Morillas, *Corán*).

17 On the role of Andalusi lyric in William's innovation, see Menocal (*Arabic* 1987: 27–33).

18 Judah al-Harizi (1165–1225) was born in Castile and travelled widely throughout the Mediterranean. He was a prolific translator of Arabic

literature into Hebrew as well as a poet and author in his own right. He translated Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed* as well as the *maqamat* of al-Hariri into Hebrew, and was author of his own *maqamat*, titled *Tahkemoni* (Mirsky).

19 As Cristina González points out, the "Castigos del Rey Mentón" ("The Counsel of King Mentón") section of *Zifar* is a work of wisdom literature that draws on several sources, among them the thirteenth-century *Flores de Filosofía*, itself modelled on Arabic sources (*Zifar* 15). María Isabel Pérez de Tudela Velasco reads *Zifar* as an exploration of the socioeconomic problems facing the institution of knighthood and as a conduct manual meant to address them (Pérez de Tudela Velasco).

20 "Caldeo en la edad media quería decir *árabe*" (González Palencia, *Arzobispo* 345).

21 In other cases, *caldeo* is correctly associated with pre-Islamic Babylon. The *Picatrix*, translated by Alfonso X, refers to it as the language of Abraham ("Prose Works" MS Vaticana Reg. Lat. 1283). In a number of Alfonsine texts it is correctly represented as a bridge language of translation between Greek or Persian and Arabic. See, for example, *Lapidario* (Gago Jover et al.; MS Escorial: Monasterio h-I–15, f. 1v).

22 See González (*Libro* 16); Krappe. On *Zifar* as an extension of the "man versus adversity" theme in the legend of St Eustace and in Job, see Olvera Hernández.

23 Manuel Abeledo argues that *Zifar*'s use of the culturally authoritative genre of wisdom literature facilitated the diffusion of Arthurian material in the Iberian Peninsula. Sophie Coussemacker argues that author of *Zifar* wanted to make his text look like a translation, in order to borrow from the prestige of the Alfonsine Arabic-Castilian translations. For him, *caldeo* was meant to indicate Arabic (128).

24 González Palencia suggests the following etymologies: *Karima* (noble, generous) for Grima, *Safir* (traveller) for Zifar, and *Ridhwan* (satisfaction, one of the divine attributes) for Roboán, to which Burke adds '*arif* (knowledgeable) for Garfín (*Arábigoespañola* 345–6; Burke 164–6). A linguistically rigorous study of the Arabisms in *Zifar* is still wanting. Neither Burke nor Walker take into account the difference between Andalusi Vernacular Arabic and Classical Arabic, or the changes that both registers undergo in transliteration to Latin or Castilian in various contexts. On Arabisms in medieval Castilian, see Pocklington; García González; Oliver Pérez.

25 Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi is the same writer whose rescension of the Arab epic *Ayyam al-'Arab* was the first known manuscript of that tradition. We learned of him in the preceding chapter when discussing the Arabic sira (epic) tradition that in part inspired *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani*.

26 See motif D1523.3, Self-propelling ship, boat, in Guerreau-Jalabert (473). On the motif of the magic boat as conveyance to the other world in Celtic mythology, see also Paton. According to Ivy Corfis, the *Islas Dotadas* and *Caballero Atrevido* episodes "[blends] elements of fantastic technique with moral didacticism to teach the protagonist and the readers that the knight in specific and man in general must be ever guarded against sin, especially curiosity and covetuousness, or he will fall victim to the devil's temptation" (82). On the marvellous in *Zifar* see also Zubillaga.

27 Like the underwater realm, that of the Fortunate Islands is enchanted, in this case by the emperor's mother Lady Parecer (Appearances), who is the link to the Arthurian material: "the Lady Parecer [...] rescued and protected Sir John, son of King Orian, from great danger as is told in this story. Sir John told Queen Guinevere that he had a lady more beautiful than she as his mistress, and if he could not prove it, according to the custom of the kingdom, he had to face the punishment the law of our land required" (la Señora del Paresçer, que fue a saluar e a guardar del peligro muy grande a don Yuan, fijo del rey Orian, ssegund se cuenta en la su estoria, quando don Yuan dixo a la reyna Ginebra que el auie por señora vna dueña mas fermosa que ella, e ouose de parar a la pena que el fuero de la nuestra tierra manda, sy non lo prouase, segund que era costunbre del reyno) (C.L. Nelson 276; González, *Libro* 412).

28 Interestingly, the narrator claims that Roboán and the empress's son (whom they name Fortunate) is himself the protagonist of an Arabic chivalric romance: "And she knelt before him on the gound. He was already on his horse and she said, 'My lord, what is your answer?' He answered her, 'Let him be named Fortunate.' And thus they named him after he was born, and there is a book in Arabic of the numerous deeds of chivalry and other good deeds he accomplished after he came of age and went in quest of his father" (E finco los ynojos antel en la tierra, que estaua ya en su cauallo, e dixole: "Senõr, que me dezides a esto?" E el respondiole: "Diganle Fortunado." E asy le dixieron despues que fue nasçido, del qual ay vn libro de la su estoria en caldeo, de quantas buenas cauallerias e quantos buenos fechos fizo despues que fue de hedat e fue en demanda de su padre) (C.L. Nelson 288; González, *Libro* 427).

29 See González (*Reino lejano* 105). James Frazer's student Jessie Weston first put forth this theory. Roger Loomis, basing his argument on Jessie Weston's groundbreaking but highly contested theory of the connections between Celtic myth and Arthurian romance, suggests that while some scholars have pushed too far the idea that Arthurian narrative stems from Celtic mythology, structurally the idea works. According to him, "the fundamental stories about their births, their deaths, their combats, their loves, are, once understood, as good mythology as any that exists" (5). Likewise,

he upholds that the *Grail* cycle is clearly based on a pre-Christian fertility initiation ritual (263), which is one possible origin for the serial monogamy (or occasional polygamy in which some Arthurian and post-Arthurian heroes (Ziyad, Zifar) indulge. If we can accept Loomis's premise that Arthurian heroes are the evolution of Celtic mythic heroes from cultures of sun-worship, it is a logical possibility that their seemingly capricious couplings with fairy and human women may be novelized representations of the cultic sex associated with Celtic societies where sun worship was practised. That is, when an Arthurian hero has a series of lovers, it is structural remnant of Celtic fertility ritual; however, to say this is not to assert that twelfth-century French authors were either conscious of this legacy, much less that they practised such rituals themselves.

30 The reference is to Ortega y Gasset's gloss on the traditional Spanish proverb "at night all cats are brown": "When someone asks us about our politics, or, according to the insolence that characterizes our times, ascribes to us a certain label, instead of responding we must ask this impertinent what he thinks: what is man? what is nature and history, what is society and the individual, the collective, the State, custom, law? Politics rushes to turn off the lights so that all these cats seem brown" (Cuando alguien nos pregunta qué somos en política, o anticipándose con la insolencia que pertenece al estilo de nuestro tiempo, nos adscribe a una, en vez de responder debemos preguntar al impertinente qué piensa él que es el hombre y la naturaleza y la historia, qué es la sociedad y el individuo, la colectividad, el Estado, el uso, el derecho. La política se apresura a apagar las luces para que todos estos gatos resulten pardos) (33).

31 For an analogous textual coincidence, see my study and translation of the tale of the Egyptian sorceror in Isaac ibn Sahula's *Meshal Haqadmoni* (ca. 1285) vis-a-vis that of Don Yllán in Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (ca. 1330). In it I propose a common source for both texts and suggest that both authors were working from a common, orally transmitted Hispanic source (Wacks, "Don Yllán"; Wacks, "Ibn Sahula's Tale").

32 See Walker (52). On the question of Zifar's bigamy in light of canon law, see Smith.

33 See Hitchcock (95–7). According to Aaron Moreno, notarial use of Arabic was associated with Mozarabic identity well into the thirteenth century, and "private Arabic documents outnumbered those of Latin and Romance until 1260" (100). However, this use of Arabic by the mid-thirteenth century was rare enough to be noteworthy. Nonetheless, it would persist until the turn of the fourteenth century, and in Jewish usage for some thirty years longer (Moreno 109–10). Archbishop of Toledo and chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (fl. mid-thirteenth century) noted the historical use of Arabic among Toledo's Mozarabs, mentioning that Toledan

Archbishop John of Seville (1135–53) wrote biblical commentaries in Arabic (Moreno 103).

34 See Williams. In 1215, Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada ordered the commission of Mozarabic priests to administer the Mozarabic rite to their communities, contravening the Cluniac reform begun by Alfonso VI in the eleventh century (Hitchcock 96).

### 3 Iberian Missionary Crusade in Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna*

1 Albert Soler and Joan Santanach date the completion of *Blaquerna* to the time of Llull's second stay in Paris (1287–9) but believe that he had already begun it ca. 1275. The work is extant in a number of manuscripts (most of them partial). For a full textual history of *Blaquerna*, see their introduction to their edition (21–75). On the work's transmission, see their introduction to Robert Hughes's English translation (68–72).

2 On Llull's biography and works see, for example, Cruz Hernández; Badia and Bonner; Stone; Bonner.

3 Anthony Bonner goes as far as saying that the Majorcan Muslims were effectively "enslaved by the [Christian] conquerors" (1). On the conquest and colonization of Muslim Majorca see Soto, ("Población musulmana" and "Mudeixars"); Abulafia (*Emporium* 57–72); Catlos (*Muslims* 60–1). On Llull's views of Islam, see Garcias Palou; Gayà; Tolan (*Saracens* 256–74); Domínguez and Gayà.

4 Llull prepared a shorter distillation of the *Ars*, the *Ars brevis*, meant to serve as a handbook for missionaries preaching to the converted (Bonner). Remarkably, it seems to have been adopted by Jewish mystics who understood it in the tradition of Abulafian Kabbalah and translated it into Hebrew (Llull, *Ha-Melacha*).

5 This contrasts with the vision for fiction articulated by Llull's near-contemporary, Don Juan Manuel, in the prologue to his collection of exempla, the *Conde Lucanor*. Juan Manuel argues that fiction is a *reflection* of the gamut of human behaviour, of "las cosas que acaesçieron en el mundo" (*Obras completas* 2:23) (which places it closer to natural philosophy), while Llull's fiction (though Llull himself does not say so), puts into practice the ideas he would like to see made into action. Don Juan Manuel sees his work as a proven example to follow, Llull a blueprint for as yet unrealized action.

6 "The distinctiveness of fiction is usually taken to be a quality of the discursive product (a fictional representation), whereas I conceive of fictionality as a distinctive rhetorical resource, functioning directly as part of the pragmatics of serious communication" (Richard Walsh 2).

7 In fact, one might argue that Louis IX traded more effectively on the idea of himself as a crusader than on its reality. His 1266 minting of a coin – the

écu – for circulation in France bearing the crusader motto *Christus Vincit, Christus Regnat, Christus Imperat* echoes the 1253 coinage of the crusader kingdom of Antioch (Jordan 210). Louis' coins, then, are a tangible metaphor for the "currency" of a crusading past, which one can exchange for current political power and prestige. Just as Castilian *hidalgos* (petty nobility) generated letters patent with ancestors who had participated in campaigns against al-Andalus as a way of legitimizing their lineages, coinage, chronicles, and other forms of narratives used symbolism to convert past military efforts (real or imagined) into present day prestige.

8 See Gaposchkin (*Saint Louis* 32). William Jordan calls crusade "the fundamental vehicle for [Louis'] profound piety" (8). This strategy for promoting his image as a pious king was quite successful, given that his popular cult, and the number of miracles attributed to him, grew even during his lifetime. His rapid canonization (only twenty-seven years after his death in 1290) attests to the effectiveness of running for saint on the crusader ticket, even in an era when the crusade movement was in decline, even as (impractical) crusading proposals, and fictional fantasies of crusade, flourished.

9 It is worth pointing out that this innovation is part of a larger monetization, commodification, and abstraction of the general economy. The thirteenth century saw the introduction of letters of exchange, the entrusting of merchandise to general carriers, and other measures that facilitated commerce across longer reaches of space and time (Pounds 403–10). During the same period, the Fourth Lateran Council had made it possible for crusaders-by-proxy to buy their way out of personally participating in crusade, thus achieving full remission of sins. Maureen Purcell writes that "this group of contributors were regarded as *crucesignati* even though they never intended to be crusaders" (54). The pope was therefore laying the theological groundwork for an economy of sin redemption that would facilitate staffing and funding crusades much as letters of credit, loans, and other instruments facilitated international trade.

10 In one salient example, while Llull called for a combination of mission and crusade, his contemporary Humbert of Romans "dismiss[ed] the conversion of Muslims in favor of war and conquest" (Beattie, "Crusading" 64).

11 This new approach was based on careful readings of the sacred texts of Islam and Judaism and an attempt to point out their inherent contradictions (Cohen 108–69; Chazan, *Daggers* 68–72; Tolan, *Saint Francis* 215–55). Llull, however, correctly understood that argumentation based on individual textual traditions lacked a universal element as a common denominator (Hames 9).

12 See Ensenyat Pujol (137). On Llull's crusading ideas, see also Piera ("Concepte"); Beattie ("Mission and Crusade" and "Crusading"). Pamela Beattie notes that Llull's crusade treatises consistently echo the rhetoric of the

crusade sermons, which were probably the single most important vehicle for crusade ideology. According to her, the "emotional appeal and the language in which [Llull's] specific proposals are couched are more typical of crusade sermons than they are of other types of crusade propaganda characteristic of Llull's era" ("Crusading" 35).

13 See Llull (*Opera Latina* 9: 277–85). On the *Liber de Fine* see also Beattie ("Crusading" 44–5).

14 Llull's *ordinatio* includes an exhortation for Jews and Muslims to attend Christian sermons (though here it is not technically compulsory, though it adds that if they decline they will be forced to attend: "et si noluerint per disputationem conuenire aut liberam uoluntatem, saltem praedicantur, et per principes christianorum aut exercitus armis munitos compellantur" (Higuera Rubio 175n51).

15 Despite these assurances, Nahmanides was still forced to flee Barcelona on the heels of the disputation (Maccoby 39). The Disputation of Barcelona was followed by another disputation in Majorca in 1286, in which Llull did not personally participate. On the Disputation of Majorca, see Contardo; De Montoni.

16 Robert Burns, for example, titled his 1967 study of Valencia *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*.

17 Gregory Stone believes that the interreligious and linguistic conflict that characterized Llull's youth in the newly conquered Majorca drove him to seek the solution of accord through universal Christianity (346). Pamela Beattie reminds us that "the history of both missions and crusades in this period is intermeshed, and perhaps Llull entangled the two endeavors more than any other theorist of his time" ("Mission and Crusade" 128) and points out that Llull's crusade writings reveal him to be simultaneously pragmatic and flexible as well as idealistic ("Mission and Crusade" 117).

18 Conversely, crusade propagandandists from the thirteenth century forward regularly spoke to their audiences in terms borrowed from chivalric fiction. Stephan Vander Elst reminds us that "writers who sought to exhort their audience to take the cross increasingly utilized the commonplaces of romance to present the holy war as a journey of chivalric self-realization, an opportunity to prove one's qualities on the farthest edges of the Christian world" (190).

19 Johnston further develops the idea of Llull as a protagonist of an emergent lay literacy, and the implications of this development based on his reading of Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de la cavalleria* ("Literacy"). Soler and Santanach write that "*Blaquerna* fits in with the reading habits of a seigniorial and knightly court ... but was not conceived as a courtly work and still less a work written for the Court of Majorca" (48). Interestingly, a French translation of *Blaquerna* is the sole vernacular work listed in the library of Peter of

Limoges, a contemporary of Llull and canon and Fellow of the Sorbonne (Soler and Santanach 49n38; Soler i Llopart).

20 "Fo error e torbament en lo poble de Déu, qui era creat per ço que Déus sie amat, conagut, honrat, servit e temut per home" (Llull, *Order* 40; Llull, *Cavalleria* 167). This passage recalls Jacob Ben Elazar's opening to his "Debate between the Pen and the Sword," in which he argues for a restoration of higher learning among the Jewish community of Castile in the early thirteenth century. Ben Elazar likewise describes a generation of "fools" (32) setting the stage for the debate between pen and sword (See also Alba Cecilia). Both treatises deal with the fusion of clerkly and political values, or the subordination of temporal to intellectual (Ben Elazar) and sacred (Llull) values.

21 One somewhat later example would be Jorge Manrique's "La orden de amor," in which the poetic voice swears loyalty to a religious order dedicated to the ideals of love (60–2).

22 Noel Fallows, the English translator of the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, describes the work in his introduction as a kind of crusader propaganda: "Llull wrote this work as a propagandistic treatise so as not to lose the momentum of the struggle against Islam in Iberia and the Holy Land" (Introduction 2).

23 "Van los cavalers en la Sancta Terra d'Oltramar en peregrinació, e fan d'armes contra los enamics de la creu, e son màrtirs con moren per exalsar la sancta fe cathòlica" (Llull, *Order* 71; Llull, *Cavalleria* 208).

24 "Los infels, qui cade die punyen en lo destruïment de la sancta Sgleya" (Llull, *Order* 44; Llull, *Cavalleria* 173, 2.2).

25 "Enaxí con nostro senyor Jesucrist vensé en la creu la mort en la qual érem caüts per lo peccat de nostro pare Adam, enaxí cavayler deu venscre e destruir los enamics de la creu ab l'espaa" (Llull, *Order* 66; Llull, *Cavalleria* 201, 5.2).

26 Maurice Keen confirms the idea that it is the *gestes* such as the *Chanson de Roland* that best reflect (and shape) the chivalric identity of the crusading era (51). Keen draws a sharp distinction between Roland's armed conflict with Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, and the campaigns for Jerusalem in the East. Or rather, he considers the latter as crusades and the former as something else. I would maintain that for the audiences of *Roland* and other *gestes* of spiritualized conflict with Islam, *moros* are *moros*, and crusade is crusade, whether in Lisbon, Almería, or Antioch. Just as the chronicles of the First Crusade were couched in chivalric language of the *gestes*, the two theatres against Islam, while theologically distinct at times, tended to reinforce each other and blend into each other in the artistic realm.

27 "– Com! fiyl – so dix lo cavalier –, ¿e no sabs tu qual és la regla e l'orda de cavalier? ¿E con pots tu demenar cavaylaria tro sàpias l'orde de

cavaylaria? Cor negun cavayler no pot mantenir l'orde que no sab, ni pot amar son orde, ni so que pertany a son orde, si no sab l'orda de cavaylaria, ni sap conèxer lo fayliment que fa contra son orde" (Llull, *Order* 37; Llull, *Cavalleria* 164, pro.2).

28 See Karras (47). The troubadours likewise sing about "spiritual" love (not perforce chaste, however) based on a union of the souls and not necessarily of the body. Llull was doubtless well familiar with these idealizations of chastity in both chivalric romance and in trouabour poetry.

29 Spousal chastity, sometimes known as "spiritual marriage," had a long history in Western Latin Christendom. Several saints' lives portray saints and their spouses practising marital celibacy. Clerical celibacy was not the norm until the twelfth century after which chaste marriage became far less common (and less condoned) among lay people because celibacy was considered the province of the clergy. It did, however persist among the laity, especially among Franciscan Tertians, though it was viewed with suspicion (McNamara 22–33; Karras 45). Hugh of St Victor established in the first half of the twelfth century that a couple could fulfil the requirements of marriage without sex, and that in fact this solution was morally superior than having sex, provided that both parties were in agreement. Popes Alexander III and Innocent III both stood by a definition of marriage that included the consent of both parties but that did not include sex or procreation. Bernard of Clairvaux dissented, pointing out that there was to be no procreation, neither was there any need for marriage (Elliott 138–40).

30 Roberto González-Casanovas describes this as "spiritualized forms of feudal chivalry and courtly love [in *Blaquerna*]" ("Religious" 102).

31 "Segons que ventura menava Blaquerna per un loch e per alter per la forest, sdevench-se que lo cavaller e Blaquerna s'encontraren. La donzella plorava e cridava e pregá Blaquerna que li ajudás" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 228; Llull, *Romanç* 237).

32 Llull adapts a series of conventions from the chivalric novel in *Blaquerna*, such as the emperor lost in the forest during a hunt, the damsel in distress, Blaquerna's similarity to Galahad, and the fictional toponomy of the world he inhabits (Badia et al. 103–5).

33 "Mas Blaquerna considerá que son poder corporal era frevol contra lo poder del cavaller e per açó cogitá con ajudás a la donzella ab fortitude, caritat, qui son forces sperituals" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 228; Llull, *Romanç* 237).

34 Llull recounts his ill-fated missionary work in Tunis (Llull, *Contemporary* 57–63), and in Bougie, where he was jailed for half a year (Llull, *Contemporary* 71–7). He also made a third missionary trip, this time to Tunis, in 1315 where it is believed he died in the following year (Llull, *Contemporary* 10). On the earlier (and uncorroborated) activities of Dominican missionary preachers in Tunis, see Vose (228–9).

35 "– Segons que es recomptat s'esdevench que un home molt savi en philosophia e en teologia e en altres sciencies hac devoció d'anar preycar als sserrayns veritat de la santa fe catolicha per tal que destruís la error dels sserrayns e que lo nom de Deu hi fos adorat e beneit segons que es entre nos. Lo sant hom aná en terra de sserrayns e preycava e demostrava veritat de nostra ley e destruya la ley de Mafumet aytant con pudia. Fama fo per tota aquella terra de ço que ell fahia. Lo rey sserray feu fer manament a aquel sant crestiá que exís de tota sa terra, cor si no u fahia ell seria liurat a mort. Lo sant home no obey al manament corporal, cor caritat e força eren en son coratge, que li fahien menysrehar la mort corporal. Molt foy lo rey indignat contra ell e feu-lo venir devant si e dix-li aquestes paraules: '– O foll chrestiá qui has menyspreat mon manament e la força de ma senyoria! E no veus tu que jo he tant de poder que pusch tu turmentar e liurar a mort? On es lo teu poder per lo qual has menyspreada ma força e ma senyoria? '– Senyer – dix lo chrestiá – veritat es que·l vostre poder corporal pot vençre e sobrar lo meu cors, ma la força que es en tots los coratges dels homens de vostra terra. E cor força de coratge es pus noble e major que força corporal, per açó caritat qui es en mon coratge ama tan fortment la força de mon cortage que·m ffa menysprear tota la força cororal que vos avets en vostra persona e en vostre regne" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 228–9; Llull, *Romanç* 237–8).

36 "Si Deus ahirava convertiment de gents, per que·s fora encarnat? Ni per que volch en la creu sostenir passió? Ni per que ha tan honrats los apostols ni·ls martirs, qui sostengren mort per exalçar mi en lo mon? ... Mas cor no es perseverança ni continuació de desputació contra los infeels, per açó apar a les gents que error no puscha esser vençuda per nosaltres" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 206–7; Llull, *Romanç* 213). Interestingly enough, Llull's discourse here when speaking of spiritual matters owes far more to *gestes* and especially to chivalric romance than to ecclesiastical writing. This may be due in part to his own background as a knight and a writer of profane poetry, but it also speaks to Llull's decorum in addressing the laypeople in his audience, whose literary sensibilities were strongly attuned to the chivalric literature of the day.

37 Elsewhere Llull writes that many Muslims are not particularly strong in their own faith and are therefore, according to John Tolan, "an audience ripe for conversion, if only Christians can properly attend to the task" (*Saracens* 256). Pamela Beattie argues that Llull's crusade treatises imply that "if the Muslims really understood Christianity they would not hesitate to convert, especially since many elements of their own religion were untenable" ("Mission and Crusade" 119).

38 "E per açó ma ssor Veritat e yo venim a vos, que dejats anar a ells mostrar per rahons necessaries veritat e que de la error en que son los tragats per tal que Deus sia conegut e amat per ells a que a mi sien aleuyats mos marriments" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 208; Llull, *Romanç* 215–16).

39 "Molt es gran lo dupte que los sserrayns savis han en lur creença, en dubte son los jueus per la captivitat en que son e desiren haver conexença, ydolatrichs son molts qui no han nulla creença: ora es que anem!" (Llull, *Romance* 208; Llull, *Romanç* 216).

40 "Los infeels requeren rahons e demostracions necessaries e squiven creença. Ora es que anem e que usem de la sciencia que avem" (Llull, *Romance* 208; Llull, *Romanç* 216).

41 It is difficult to state with certainty how much Arabic Llull actually knew. According to his autobiography, he claims to have studied the language for several years from a Muslim slave whom he purchased for this purpose, a fact echoed by nearly every modern account of Llull's life. Most maintain that Llull's missionary activity in Tunis is evidence that he had an excellent command of Arabic, and that he both wrote and read the language quite well (Garcias Palou 96–9; Badia and Bonner 16), though they do not make clear distinctions between Classical and vernacular Arabic in this assessment. Llull also claimed to have written a number of works in Arabic, none of which survive in their Arabic versions. Garcias Palou gives a thorough accounting of these works (100–6), though the absence of a single Arabic manuscript written by Llull, autograph or otherwise, is telling. Though most scholars seem to take Llull at his word, we simply cannot know how much (or what kind of) Arabic he knew.

42 "Benedicta tu in mulieribus" is the fictional name of the military order (dedicated to the Virgin) to which the knight belongs. This is a fictional projection of the unified order Llull proposes to the Council of Vienne in 1311, as he relates in his autobiography (*Contemporary* 83). The idea of a military order dedicated to the Virgin Mary, however, is not original to Llull; the Mercedarian Order (Royal, Celestial and Military Order of Our Lady of Mercy and the Redemption of the Captives, or *Ordo Beatae Mariae de Mercede Redemptionis Captivorum*) was established in Barcelona in 1218 by St Peter Nolasco (1189–1256) and had two communities in Majorca itself by the 1230, with the mother church (the Basilica of La mercè) raised in Barcelona in 1267. On the Mercedarian Order, see Brodman (*Ransoming*; "Fable"; "New Perspectives"; Luis Vázquez; Millán Rubio. On the cult of Mary more generally, see Warner; Pelikan.

43 "Gran contrast fo enfre l'abat e·l cavaller qual dona era mellor. Amdós se convengren que cascú loás sa dona per veer qual ne puria dir major laor" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 281; Llull, *Romanç* 292).

44 "Que li faça atorgar la honor qui cove esser feta a nostra dona verge santa Maria, de la qual son cavaller novellament!" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 284; Llull, *Romanç* 294).

45 "Nostra Dona [no] fos mare de Deu, mas be crehia que fos dona santa e verge, mare de home profeta" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 284; Llull, *Romanç* 294).

46 On the Islamic doctrine of *Dhimma*, see Friedmann.

47 Llull was knowledgeable about Islamic doctrine. In the *Liber de fine* Llull raises several points of Islamic doctrine that coincide with or approximate Christian belief: that Jesus is the son of God and his spirit (but not God himself), that he was conceived of a virgin, and that he and his mother are saints, and that the Apostles are saints. He also demonstrates an awareness that many Muslims regarded the Trinity as a form of polytheism (Llull, *Opera Latina* 9: 256). While these are not all technically correct, much of the difference between what he states and what Muslims in the thirteenth century believed is a matter of terminology. Jesus is a prophet in Islamic tradition. The Qur'an contains a *sura* dedicated to Mary (Surat Maryam, no. 19), and there are multiple textual traditions on the life and works of both Mary and Jesus (Wismer; Khalidi). Several of these are preserved in late Spanish Islamic (Morisco) textual traditions (Vespertino Rodríguez).

48 This was apparently the case in Franciscan missions to Almohad Seville; despite the Almohads' best efforts to turn them away and send them back to Europe, the friars persisted on their path to martyrdom and were eventually tortured and executed (Tolan, *Saint Francis* 7). The scene recalls the episode of the so-called Martyrs of Cordova of the tenth century, militant Christians who demanded audiences with the caliph to denounce Islam and thus seek a martyr's death. Most were "granted every opportunity to change their minds" (Wolf 29) but were executed only after deliberately repeating their blasphemies against Muhammad before the *qadi* (judge).

49 "Aquells foren martirs per Nostra Dona, qui los honrá en la Gloria de son Fill per ço cor per ella a honrar havien pres martiri; e está aparellada de honrar tots aquells qui per semblant manera la vullen honrar" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 285; Llull, *Romanç* 295).

50 Sharon Kinoshita writes on the role of conversion in French *gestes* and romances (*Boundaries* 40–80). In chapter 4 we will see another variation of the "romance of conversion" in *Flores y Blancaflor*, in which the hero converts to Christianity out of devotion to his beloved, Blancaflor. In both cases the structures of the chivalric romance are subordinated to a missionary crusade that blends military and spiritual dominance in the key of amatory chivalric fiction.

51 Alfonso X refers to himself as the troubadour of Mary in his prologue to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: "What's more, today I want to be her troubadour, and beg her that she wants me as her troubadour and that she wants to listen to my song" (eu / quero seer oy mais seu trobador, e rogo-lle que me queira por seu / Trobador e que queira meu trobar / reçeber) (*Cantigas* 1: 2, vv. 18–22). On Alfonso X as the troubadour of Mary, see also Snow (124).

52 "Benedicta tu" is a devotional analogue to the type of *senhal* used by troubadours in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for example: *Bon Vezí*

(Good Neighbour), *Mon Tort-n'avetz* (Unjust to Me), *Belh Bericle* (Beautiful Beryl), *Miellz de domna* (Better than Lady), *Mos azimans* (My Magnet), *Bel vezer* (Beautiful Vision), and *Bon Esper* (Good Hope) (Riquer, *Trovadores* 1: 95).

53 "Servidor, Amador son de una dona qui es mellor que totes fembres e qui es mare de Deu e home per gracia de Sant Sperit. On, qui nega aquesta honor a Nostra Dona, jo l'aremesch de batalla en vostra cort, per tal que li faça atorgar la honor qui cove esser feta a nostra dona verge santa Maria, de la qual son cavaller novellament!" (Llull, *Romance* 283–4; Llull, *Romanç* 294).

54 "que vagen honrar ... lo fruyt de Nostra Dona, sustinents per honrar aquel fam, set, calt, fret, temors, turments, e mort" (Llull, *Romance* 256; Llull, *Romanç* 297, II.65.3).

55 According to his autobiography, Llull began to study Arabic around the year 1265, when he returned to Majorca, "and having bought himself a Saracen, he learned the Arabic language from him" (emptoque sibi ibidem quodam Sarceno, linguam arabicam didicit ab eodem) (Llull, *Contemporary* 2.11: 38). Nine years later Llull gets into a physical altercation with his teacher/slave, managing to tie him up, after which the slave "[hangs] himself with the rope with which he had been bound" (inuenit, quod ipse fune, quo ligatus fuit, iugulauerat semet ipsum) (Llull, *Contemporary* 3.14: 41). The slave thereby conveniently saved Llull the guilt of putting him to death for his crime, or the risk of setting him free to possibly attack Llull again.

56 "iuit Raimundus ad curiam Romanam, causa impetrandi, si posset, a domino papa et cardinalibus, huiusmodi monasteria pro diuresis linguis discendis per mundum institui. Sed cum ipse ad curiam peruenisset, inuenit papam tunc recenter mortuum, dominum scilicet Honorium papam" (Llull, *Contemporary* 4.18: 44–7).

57 "Ut locus constitueretur sufficiens, in quo uiri deuoti et intellectu uigentes ponerentur, studentes in diuversis linguarum generibus, quod omni creaturae scirent doctrinam euangelicam praedicare" (Llull, *Contemporary* 9.45: 80–1). Llull had detailed this plan previously in the *Liber de fine* (1305) in which he recommends that the pope build four monasteries to serve as language academies to train missionaries (Llull, *Opera Latina* 9: 252–3).

58 "Questió es: 'Si los crestians han colpa de la innorancia dels infieels qui innoren la santa fe catholicha.' Questió es: 'Quals han mayor poder o oportunitat: o que los catholics, qui son en veritat, convertesquen a via vera los infeels; o los infeels giten de veritat e meten en error los catholichs.' Questió es: 'Si los crestians an colpa car los sarrazís tenon la sancta terra d'Oltramar on Jesuchrist fo concebutz e natz e crucificatz'" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 330; Llull, *Romanç* 307–8).

59 "Ut de cunctis religiosis militibus christianis fieret unus ordo; qui ultra mare contra Saracenos usque ad recuperationem Terrae sanctae bella continua, retinerent" (Llull, *Contemporary* 9.45: 82–3).

60 "Dehia lo soldá al papa con ell se maravellava molt d'el e de tots los reys e·ls princeps dels crestians con en conqueror la Santa Terra d'Ultramar prenien la manera de lur profeta Mafumet, qui les terres que conqués hac per força d'armes, e cor no volien haver la manera de Jesucrist e dels apostols, qui per preycació e per martire convertiren lo mon. E cor l'apostoli e·ls crestians no havien la manera de lurs començadors en conqueror les terrres, per açó Deus no volia que ells possehisen la Santa Terra d'Ultramar" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 344; Llull, *Romanç* 352).

61 "L'apostoli doná perdó molt gran e maná croada, e dels bens de santa Sgleya feu grans dons als dos reys e d'altres barons, e pres en guarda e en comanda la terra dels.ii. reys. Tant plach aquell ordenament als.ii. reys e tanc hac cascú gran coratge de fer d'armes, que amdós s'avengren que lur fet metessen en poder del apostolic; e prengueren lo passatge e sobresech la questió de ço de que contenien per ço que no se.n torbás lo passatge" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 354–5; Llull, *Romanç* 361).

62 Papal bulls in the early thirteenth century called for papal control of the crusades. This position appears in *Quia maior* and *Pium et sanctum* (1213) and again in *Ad liberandam* (Fourth Lateran, 1215) (Bird et al. 130). It is noteworthy that the entire enterprise is undertaken in the name of bringing out peace on earth. His solution is a strange combination of the "love thy brother" peace with a *Pax Romana*, or peace by superior military power that is more commonly associated with Islamic expansion, in which the lands under Islam are known as *dar al-Islam*, the house of Islam or submission (remember the root of the word "Islam" is S-L-M, which also gives *salaam* or "peace"), while the territories outside of Islam are known as *dar al-harb*, "the house of war."

63 "Aquell cavaller vench en aquella çiutat arremir cors per cors tot home qui digués que Deus no fos e que Deus fos lo sol ni la luna ni les altres creatures les quals colen los ydolatrichs en semblança de Deu. Ab gran re dels cavallers d'aquella terra se combaté lo cavaller e molts ne vençé; e a la fi.i. arquer trasch-li ab una sageta qui li partí lo cor e lo cavaller fo martir per loar Deu per ufici d'armes" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 362; Llull, *Romanç* 367–8).

64 "E cor lo crestiá li dehia que la fe catholica no·s pudia provar per rahons, per açó ell no volia esser chrestiá, cor no volia Lexar una fe per altra; mas dehia que per entendre ixiria de la fe de Mafumet e entraria en la fe catholica, ab que l'apostoli li trametés a dir si era provable, cor si u era ell se faria chrestiá e adoraria Jesucrist con a Deu e rendria tota sa terra a l'Esgleya de Roma per tal que tots aquells de sa terra adorasen Jesucrist" (Llull, *Blaquerna*; Llull, *Romanç* 379).

65 While it is true that spikes in conversion to Islam tended to follow moments of persecution, the more prevalent tendency was to encourage conversion through policies that placed social and economic restrictions

on Christians and Jews. The one exception to this trend in al-Andalus was when the Almohad ruler 'Abd al-Mu'min suspended the doctrine of *dhimma*. This example is so rare that it is scarcely mentioned in the Arabic sources (García Arenal 589–96).

66 "Raimundus ergo, conuocatis paulatim de die in diem peritioribus in lege Machometi, inter alia dixit eis, se bene scire rationes legis christianorum in omnibus suis articulis; et ad hoc se uenisse, quod ipse, auditis rationibus legis eorum, scilicet Machometi, si inueniret illas, habita inter ipsos super his collatione, ualidores, quam rationes christianorum, conuerteretur ad sectam eorum" (Llull, *Contemporary* 6.26: 56–7).

67 "Molts galiadors e arlots que precayven als sserahins l'*Alcorá* e les benanançes de parays" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 390; Llull, *Romanç* 396).

68 "Per la bella manera que havien en parlar e cor recomtaven la vida de molt home que per devoció muria" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 390; Llull, *Romanç* 396).

69 "Cor una terra hi havia, qui ha nom Girlandia, on venia a cap de.v. anys un hors blanch en senyal que aquell anny auran abundancia de molt peix, del quell viuen aquelles gents. Altra terra hi ha on per encantament fan parlar los arbres. Altra terra hi a, pres Boçinia, on ve una upega en.i. boscatge e, si null home talla negun ram d'aquell boscatge, encontinent cau lamp e tro del cel e met en peril de mort tot home qui sia en aquell boscatge. Una altra terra hi a on cascun home cuyda haver un deu en son camp e alter en son bestiar e alter en son ort" (Llull, *Romance* 374–5; Llull, *Romanç* 395–6, IV.88.3). Hughes identifies "Girlandia" as "most probably Iceland or Greenland" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 389n293), and "Boçinia" as "Bochnia in Southern Poland" (Llull, *Blaquerna* 389n294). These reported traditions recall the indigenous European cults practised on the boundaries of European Christendom (Hungary, the Baltics, the Balkans). All of these areas were at one time or another (and some during Llull's lifetime) theatres of crusade. Norwegian King Sigurd the Jerusalem-Traveller declared a crusade against pagans in southern Sweden in the 1120s (Prudence Jones 137). In the Baltics, Pope Eugenius III ordered a crusade against pagan Slavs in 1147 (Fonnesberg-Schmidt 27). In Hungary, the pope preached a crusade against (Christian) King Ladislas IV (1272–90, contemporary with the life of Llull) for harbouring Magyar pagans (Prudence Jones 188).

### 4 Romancing Iberian Crusade: *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*

1 On such romances in French, see Kinoshita (*Boundaries* 46–104); Tolan (*Saracens* 66–78). Critics have described *Floire et Blancheflor* as a work both *of* and *in* the Mediterranean. Patricia Grieve notes that "those who believe in the Byzantine origin often use as a basis of comparison *Floire et Blancheflor*'s similarities to *Aucassin et Nicolette*, a French Romance probably of Byzantine

origin" (16). Sharon Kinoshita sees it also as a work that "transforms the Mediterranean from the space of *translatio* into a space of commerce and cross-confessional contact, where merchants were the middlemen who regularly negotiated linguistic, cultural, and confessional divides, serving as the glue insuring the connectivity of Mediterranean places on every level from the local to the trans-imperial" ("Negotiating" 42–3).

2 Patricia Grieve dates the text to the late thirteenth century (33), but notes that, according to José Gómez Pérez (7–24), elements of the narrative circulated in epic form in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. David Arbesú-Fernández dates the text ca. 1290 and the manuscript ca. 1390, while Correa places the manuscript in the fifteenth century. Francisco Bautista Pérez places the manuscript at the end of the fourteenth century (*España* 30–8). For full discussion of the various versions and manuscript witnesses of the tale, see Grieve (15–20); Correa (7–12); Arbesú-Fernández (Introduction 3–8 and 22–7).

3 Diego Catalán qualifies the text as "of monkish inspiration, less learned [than court histories] not very respectful of historical truth, and clearly set down the path of novelization" (de inspiración monacal, menos erudita, muy poco respetuosa de la verdad histórica, lanzada claramente por el camino de la novelización) (Catalán, "*Reyes*" 354). Grieve likewise points at the "tendency of the compilers at this time period ... to compose works of history and fantasy" (33), and suggests that the work's emphasis on the role of Augustinian friars in converting Flores and his followers to Christianity may be evidence of a clerical author, in whose vision "the retaking of al-Andalus does not come from the military exploits of northern Christian rulers, but from humble monks" (28).

4 For Patricia Grieve, the story of Flores and Blancaflor is about the "relentless drive toward Christianity" embodied in the two "transcendent, exemplary human lovers ... whose union brings them, and Spain, much closer to God" (168). The conversion of Flores and his subjects to Christianity, "reverses the fall of Spain in 711" (188). For Marla Segol, however, the aristocratic French version argues the opposite, and presents a case against crusade (35). This is logical given the two very different contexts of the French and Castilian versions, but it is an interesting example of how the same story (albeit in versions whose particulars vary) can serve two different ideological ends.

5 Kinoshita (*Boundaries* 84) notes that this pseudo-kinship suggests a conception of Christendom and Islam as sibling societies, on which see Bulliet.

6 This spiritual conquest of Almería has a historical, military precedent. In fact, eyewitness chronicler Caffaro di Rustico da Caschifellone reports that the purpose of the Christian campaign in Almería (1147) was to avenge forced conversions of Christians to Islam in that city (O'Callaghan, *History*

231; Hall and Phillips 37; Caffaro 69–70). The Latin poem commemorating the campaign is translated by Barton and Fletcher (251–63).

7 The best-known example is, of course, the *Chanson de Roland* in which Roland faces a massive army of Saracens in Spain. There is also *La Fille du Comte de Pontieu*, with scenes in both Santiago and Almería (Trotter 145–6), and *Le prise d'Orange*, set in southern France (Kinoshita, *Boundaries* 46–74).

8 Trotter notes some authors of crusade epics, notably the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* and *Simon de Pouille*, use Iberian geography and cultural history in narratives that ostensibly take place in the east (74).

9 We must always remind ourselves that narratives serve the institutions for whom they are produced, but do not always reflect common or popular belief. That is, just as we should not confuse the emotions of the poetic voice with those of the poet, neither should we confuse the piety of, for example, a monastic chronicle with the spirituality of the monk who writes it, let alone the spirituality of "society in general" or some other such construct. As the God character in Kingsley Amis's *The Green Man* explains to the hapless innkeeper to whom God appears in human form, "you only know what people *said* they believed" (140) (and not what they actually believed, much less what they *practised*).

10 O'Callaghan notes that military struggle with al-Andalus was not framed in terms of holy war until the late eleventh century (*Reconquest* 8–9). Gabrielle Spiegel points out that in the Chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin (a version of which appears in book 4 of the *Codex Calixtinus*, as we have seen) "Charlemagne is not just the most powerful lord in the world, but has been so created by God in order to promote His causes on earth" (91). On the historical context of the representation of Islam and al-Andalus in the Pseudo-Turpin, see Poole (xxii–xxix); Ramírez del Río ("Imagen").

11 On Charlemagne in the *Estoria de España*, see also Bautista Pérez (*Francia* 88–92).

12 Leadership of the crusades was largely French, and in the case of the Fourth and Fifth Crusades launched by Louis IX, almost entirely French (Lloyd 35–8). Religious leadership also came from France. Urban II appointed the bishop of Le Puy as legate to the first crusade, and Paschal II chose the archbishop of Lyon as his (Richard, *Saint Louis* 28). Iberian participation was, for various reasons, more limited, but not insignificant (Fernández de Navarrete). As for whether the crusades (in Iberia or elsewhere) could be considered a "colonial" enterprise, Robert Burns back in 1973 did not hesitate to title his book *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in Thirteenth-Century Valencia* (Burns, *Islam*). In 1980 another historian, Joshua Prawer, similarly titled a monograph *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. However, more recent critics, working in the shadow of a massive bibliography of postcolonial

critical theory, are more cautious when speaking of medieval "colonialism," given that modern ideas about colonialism are predicated on modern political and economic circumstances. While some critics have attempted postcolonial readings of the crusades, others such as Kristin Skottki caution against what she views as facile and anachronistic retroactive application of modern critical concepts (orientalism, colonialism) to medieval problems such as crusade. Corliss Slack points out that neither the discourse of the times nor the documentary record supports the idea that the crusades were colonialist in the modern sense, when considered from the cultural or material perspectives.

13 Though many rank and file crusaders from the Latin West living in the Levant married Eastern Christian and converted Muslim women (Kinoshita, "Crusades and Identity"), this reality does not seem to have penetrated the literary imagination except in cases of when the hero marries a converted "Saracen" king or queen.

14 Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912–61) was the son of a Christian slave woman from northern Spain whose ancestry was only one quarter Arab (Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* 53). Political intermarriage between Christians and Muslim elites was quite common during the Umayyad period and into the eleventh century (Crow 61–2; El-Hajji). Al-Mansur's nephew Abd al-Rahman was likewise the son of a Christian noblewoman and was known in the family as Sanchuelo ("little Sancho," after his maternal grandfather Sancho Abarca of Navarre) (Kennedy 124).

15 The late thirteenth-century law code, the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X, legislates against interreligious sex, a sure sign that religion was, in practice, no barrier to social and/or sexual intercourse. According to the *Siete Partidas,* Jews (7.24.9) or Muslims (7.25.6) having sex with a Christian virgin should be stoned to death, and the Christian virgin should have half of her property (first offence) or all of her property (second offence) transferred to her parents, grandparents, or the king, should she be bereft. In the case of a married Christian woman, the Muslim man should be stoned to death and the woman's husband is at liberty to burn her or otherwise deal with the situation. If a disgraced woman (such as a prostitute) lies with a Muslim man they should both be whipped publicly (first offence) or executed (second offence) (Alfonso X, *Siete partidas* 962 and 966). Interestingly, in the Crown of Aragon, if the Jew or Muslim in question were willing to convert, all charges would be dropped (Nirenberg, *Communities* 150).

16 French audiences would have been familiar with hagiographic accounts of conversion. Marla Segol sees the French version of *Floire et Blancheflor* as a kind of sexed-up hagiography, "a subversion of what Grieve calls the hagiographic potential of the text" (35) that replaces the hagiographical principle of *imiatio Christi* with the romance principle of *imitatio amori* (50).

17 Brian Catlos describes medieval Latin Christendom as "a poor, inhospitable, and undeveloped region with virtually nothing to offer the Muslim traveller or merchant except danger" (*Muslims* 229). Catlos mentions that Muslim merchants did business in Mediterranean ports of southern France such as Narbonne and Marseilles (*Muslims* 258), and the occasional Muslim slave ended up in England or France (*Muslims* 278).

18 The ironic wrinkle in this process is that many of the Iberian texts featuring the conversion of heroes are adaptations from French originals. *Flores y Blancaflor* is an adaptation of a twelfth-century French narrative, as is the fifteenth-century *Paris y Viana.* The problem of the encounter between Islam and Christianity as it is conceived in France responds to a very different historical entanglement with the Muslim world, of which France was never itself a part. Christian Iberia, on the other hand, by 1300 had staked much of its identity on its relationship with Islam. The Iberian romances of the encounter with Islam were really about the here and now. Just as the *Cantar de Mio Cid* lacked the epic distance of the *Chanson de Roland* and consequently gives us a much more realistic and less melodramatic picture of the relationship between Christianity and Islam, *Flores y Blancaflor*'s portrayal of this encounter is more nuanced than those found in its French counterparts.

19 See Ramey (80). For Marla Segol, on the other hand, *Aucassin et Nicolette* "narrates not only the migration of Islamic (Iberian) culture, but through [Nicolette] (and its) marriage to Aucassin, she both emblematizes and revises French history to reveal its hybrid nature" (87).

20 Curiously the Spanish epic, and in particular the *Cantar de Mio Cid* is far less religiously charged than the French *Chanson de Roland*, and is characterized by far less "epic distance" than the French epic.

21 This reinforces the idea that it is religion, more than any concept we might identify as race, that separates Christians and Muslims. On the other hand, there are cases (more common in French than in Castilian) in which Muslim characters are represented as racially Other. Marla Segol identifies two kinds of Saracen princesses in French epics and romances: black and white. According to her, "the black princesses were because of their undesirable coloring eliminated from the category of women marriageable to European men and grouped with Saracen men ... White Saracen women were ... on the one hand ... rich and beautiful; on the other they were quite forbidden because of their beliefs. The artistic response to this dilemma was the attempt to erase this troubling difference by their conversion and the whitening of their skin" (19). For a comprehensive study on the concept of race in the Middle Ages, see Heng (*Race*).

22 See the illumination on the first page of chapter 12, "Éste es otro juego en departido en que ha veinte y cinco trebejos que han a ser entablados assí

como están en la figura del entablamiento, e hanse de jogar d'esta guisa" (Alfonso X, *Juegos* 51). The Muslim is distinguished only by his turban and by his henna-dyed beard.

23 See Brook. Moshe Lazar, editor of the medieval Castilian translation of the *Kuzari*, dates it to the middle of the fifteenth century (Halevi xv). See also Fellous (13–15).

24 There is another such example of a (non-historical) romance intercalated into a chronicle in the *caballero del cisne* in *Gran conquista de Ultramar* (Ramos; Querol Sanz, *Cruzadas y literatura*; Querol Sanz, *Leyenda*).

25 Patricia Grieve reads the work as an example of "mythical imperialism" that "[recasts] early Spanish history and the fictional exemplary lovers Flores and Blancaflor as founders of the Carolingian dynasty" (170), and in which Flores "leaves two gifts to Christianity: he restores to Christianity the lands that had fallen to the Saracens ... and ... links the Carolingian dynasty with the Moorish Kings of southern Spain" (168).

26 See the version found in Biblioteca Nacional MS 9067 edited by Valero Cuadra (521–30) as well as the analysis by Paul B. Nelson.

27 See Catalán ("Poesía"); Grieve 31. Marilyn Desmond reminds us that French vernacular historiography developed in the wake of vernacular prose fiction and therefore "the historiographical traditions of medieval French rely on the narrative and rhetorical conventions of literary traditions" (139). Patricia Grieve refers to "four trends in vernacular prose historiography that have relevance for *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*: the nationalization of the history of Spain; the tendency to fold historical events into a universal pattern of Christian history ... the tendency to record history according to genealogies and dynastic implications; and the 'novelization' of history, or the historicization of fiction" (33–4).

28 See Eco (52). For the case of Spain see also Post. C.S. Lewis has also written on the importance of allegory for medieval literature, and presciently observed that "it is of the very nature of thought and language to represent what is immaterial in picturable terms" (44). This became the thesis of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, who argued that not only language itself, but "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (3).

29 See Mary Elizabeth Perry (25–5). Mary Quinn ("Handless") notes that Cervantes re-purposes the tale in *Don Quixote* as "The Captive's Tale."

30 Patricia Grieve has argued, to the contrary, that *Flores y Blancaflor* is a political allegory of succession of the reign of Alfonso X (34). Given the romance's placement in chapters dealing with the Asturian kings, I think the Carolingian emphasis is more about Alfonso X's aspirations to the Holy Roman Empire than Sancho's primacy over his brother Ferdinand de la Cerda.

31 See Jubran (45). Lisa Lampert-Weissig points out that medievalists have criticized Said's characterization of Dante's orientalism (in his representation of Muhammad, for example), as reductive and binarist. She adds that historical moments such as medieval Iberia and Norman Sicily do not follow Said's scheme (14). Likewise, Mary Quinn calls the sixteenth-century "Moorish" novel *El Abencerraje* "a failed search for a means to convey national identity, and a nostalgia for a time when Orientalism would have sufficed" (*Moor* 59). On the value of postcolonial thought for the study of the Middle Ages see Altschul ("Postcolonialism" and *Geogaphies*).

32 This pairing foreshadows the sixteenth-century "Moorish" novel *Abencerraje*, which likewise addresses the historical past in terms of contemporary chivalric values projected backward onto historical fictional characters. *Abencerraje*'s Christian and Musim protagonists are equally chivalrous, equally physically beautiful, and are distinct only by their religious affiliation (Fuchs, *Exotic* 38–9). María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti sums up this tendency by referring to the hero of *Abencerraje* as "a Muslim *Amadís*" (59).

33 "un sabio que escriuio esta estoria en arauigo ..." (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 61). Once again we are faced with the trope of the lost Arabic translation that frames *Zifar* and later, most famously, *Don Quijote*.

34 Particia Grieve views this as "problematic" and suggests that the compilers used Sigibert's name in order to borrow from the prestige of his known works (31–3). See also Arbesú-Fernández (*Crónica* 28n85); Catalán (*España* 157–63).

35 "de inspiración monacal, menos erudita, muy poco respetuosa de la verdad histórica, lanzada claramente por el camino de la novelización" (Catalán, "*Reyes*" 354). Elsewhere he notes the increased liberties that post-Alfonsine historiographers take with their sources ("Poesía" 429).

36 Patricia Grieve points out that the Castilian crusade chronicle *Gran conquista de Ultramar* (also late thirteenth century, and on which see chapter 1) mentions the story of Flores and Blancaflor and in so doing combines elements from the French "aristocratic" and "popular" versions that are present in the *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* (28–9).

37 Arbesú-Fernández provides a detailed accounting of the narrative's coincidences with historical events and figures (*Crónica* 31–3).

38 See Arbesú-Fernández (Introduction 30). Patricia Grieve argues that the story can be read both as a general historical allegory as well as a specific political allegory (168).

39 "E arribo en Galizia, e salleron a terreno e corrieron toda la tierra, e fizieron muy grandes daños e mataron muchos cristianos, e quemaron muchas villas e robaron toda la tierra, de guisa que fizieron muy grand ganançia de bestias e de ganados, e de otras muchas cosas" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 51).

40 See Echevarría Arsuaga (*Almanzor* 245) and Sénac (93–6). This event actually occurred during the reign of Bermudo II of León (985–99). Echevarría Arsuaga also cites the Latin account of Sampiro, bishop of Astorga (1034–41), in which Almanzor sacks Compostela and is just about to destroy the shrine of St James when he is suddenly gripped by fear and turns back, leaving it intact (*Almanzor* 234–5).

41 Lope de Vega wrote a play about him (as he did about nearly everything) titled *El bastardo Mudarra*. This narrative also resonates with that of the child fathered by Zifar's son Roboán in the "Fortunate Islands" episode of *Zifar* discussed in the previous chapter. In both cases the son, once of age, goes off in search of his father. Both take place in Andalusi or Arabic settings.

42 "E asy los crio la condesa catiua en esta guisa a muy grand viçio, e en vn lecho los echava e amaualos mucho, tan bien al fijo de su señor como a su fija. E asy se criaron amos fasta que llegaron a hedat de diez años" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 53).

43 See Arbesú-Fernández (Introduction 53). Two concepts are at play in this scene. The first is the contemporary scientific notion that mother's milk, like mother's blood in the womb, supplies the infant with moral and spiritual qualities along with nutrition. This is a Galenic idea that surfaces in Christian literature as early as Augustine and is still present in the *Legenda aurea* (Atkinson 60, 76, and 121; Sinclair 22 and 38). The second, by extension, is that of milk kinship, by which two children attain kinship by virtue of having been nursed by the same woman, even when that woman is not the birth mother of both children. Milk kinship becomes codified quite early in Islamic law, but Christian sources are mostly silent on the topic well into the Middle Ages (Parkes, "Fosterage" and "Milk Kinship"). This suggests that the Spanish version of *Flores y Blancaflor* may have been translated from an earlier Arabic version en route from Byzantium or Persia, where some critics place its origin. Patricia Grieve points out the strong association in Christian theology with the Virgin Mary nursing the baby Jesus and in particular Christians' reluctance to nurse non-Christians (98).

44 Arbesú-Fernández also adds that the Castilian version is the only one that pays significant attention to the conversion of Flores to Christianity (*Crónica* 53).

45 On *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) as a prototype of a modern theory of race, see Edwards; Nirenberg ("Race"); Kaplan. On the social and political implications of the laws of *limpieza de sangre* more generally, see Sicroff.

46 In Patricia Grieve's words, it is all part of "God's plan ... and his grand design for Spain's Christianization" (98). This is a more harmonizing vision than the one that would ultimately drive the actions of both church and Crown, as theories of "limpieza de sangre" in the fifteenth century

excluded even sincere Christians born to families who had converted from Judaism and Islam from full participation in public life and subjected them to centuries of surveillance and persecution under the aegis of the Spanish Inquisition.

47 "E segunt cuenta Sigiberto, vn sabio que saco esta estoria del fecho de Flores e de Blancaflor de arauigo, diz que tan sotil engenio auien estos niños en aprender que en seys años aprendieron fablar en logica e fablar en latyn, tanto como en arauigo. E en latyn escriuien versos de amor en que tomauan amos muy grand plazer, e por aquesto se amauan mucho ademas, e otrosy porque en vn dia nasçieran, e en vno los criaran, e mamauan vna leche, e en vno comien e beuien, e en vn lecho se echavan" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 57).

48 "por todas guisas del mundo de fazerle oluidar a Blancaflor, e amar a otra que le pertenezca para casamiento e que sea pagana de nuestra ley. Ca desaguisada cosa me semeja que nuestro fijo sea casado con fijo de cristiano" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 58).

49 Hisham ibn ʻAbd al-Malik, r. 724–43 (Hawting, *Umayyad* 80–9).

50 "En logar de mantenerlos en justiçia, confondielos e echaualos en mal logar. Tales cosas como estas començo a vsar en España contra esos pocos de cristianos que fincaron so el señorio de los moros, e contra sus moros mismos, por tal que las llagas que non eran avn bien sanas nin guaridas de las priesas en que se vieran las gentes, que por el su brauo señorio se renouasen aquí" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 74).

51 Arbesú-Fernández identifies "Ocha" or "Ocba" is Emir ʻUqba ibn Hajjaj al-Saluli (r. 734–40) (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 32). Ibn Hajjaj merits a brief mention in the *History* of Ibn al-Quttiya (10th c.), in which the historian cites two different dates for the emir's appointment (Ibn al-Qūṭīyah 60). The editor, David James, notes that this is "understandable, because al-Andalus had three different governors in that year" (Ibn al-Qūṭīyah 64n11).

52 "E este Ocha era muy alto sabio en su ley e en contar el linaje onde los moros venieran, e por que el tenie buen su ley e la guardara, era temido de todos e mucho honrrado. La primera cosa que el fizo en España fue que priso a Abdemelic, el que reynara ante el, e echole en fierros. E con consejo del Rey Fines, fijo de su señor, tiro de la tierra los alguaziles [here it must mean *wazir*, *ministro* and not 'bailiff' or 'sheriff'] e los adelantados que el y pusiera, e fizo a todos los moros guardar bien las cosas que convenien a su ley, pero con todo esso demandaua muy de rezio a los pueblos pechos e tributos, asi que llego e acresçento, ya por razon de los pechos de muchas guisas, muy grand aver ademas" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 77).

53 "Del dezeno año fasta el trezeno del reynado del Rey don Alfonso el catholico non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la historia

pertenesca, sinon tanto que en el dozeno año dexo Carlos Magno, rey de Françia, el reayno a su hermano el Rey Pepino. E fuesse el a Roma al Papa Zacarias qeu le diese el abito de la orden de Sant Benito, e el papa fizolo luego. E Carlos Magno moro de primero en el monasterio que es en el Monte Sipçiti, que se fiziera el, e fizo y muy santa vida. E despues fuese para el monasterio de Montasin, e ally acabo su vida en seruiçio de Dios. Este año ouieron los moros entre si muy grand batalla vnos con otros" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 78). In a note, Arbesú-Fernández explains: "The manuscript refers again to Carloman [uncle of Charlemagne], and not Charlemagne, who is succeeded by his brother Pepin the Short. Carloman seeks refuge in the monastery of "Monte Soracte" (Monsorat, Mount of San Silvestre) [MS. *monte sipçiti*] in Rome, but troubled by the many visits he receives, he goes to a Benedictine monastery in "Monte Casino" [MS. Montasin]. He dies in the year 754" (*Crónica* 78n194).

54 Patricia Grieve writes that "Flores prefigures his grandson Charlemagne as a great defender of the faith" (188).

55 "Andados treze años del reynado del Rey don Alfonso, el catholico, que fue en la era de 784, quando andaua el año de la encarnaçión del Señor 737 e el ynperio de Constantin en 9, cuenta la estoria que mientra el Ynfante Flores andaua en busca i de Blancaflor, el Rey Fines su padre visquio sienpre en grand cuydado fasta que el ynfante torno. Por ende, Ocha rey de Córdoba estido en paz teniendo el su reyno bien parado ..." (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 86).

56 "Este Rey Pepino fue casado con Berta, fija de Flores e Blancaflor, asi como la estoria lo contara adelante. Mas agora dexa la historia a contar desto por fablar de Flores e de Blancaflor" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 86–7).

57 The graphic pun of the hero Flores jumping out of a basket of flowers (*flores*) is plain. David Arbesú-Fernández notes that the annual gift of the basket of flowers probably refers to the celebration of Easter Sunday, the *Pascua de la Resurrección*, also referred to as the *Pascua florida* (*Crónica* 89n246). Patricia Grieve notes the series of puns on flower "flor" (pl. "flores") and the character name Flores (71).

58 These never came to pass, despite Phillip's willingness to commit massive funding from the French church for his projected crusades (authorized by Pope John XXII), as he died in 1321 without realizing his plans (Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* 266). Nonetheless, his willingness to finance crusades shows us how real the *idea* of crusade continued to be in the imagination of the fourteenth century, even if crusade as a successful military program was probably (with the exception of Granada) a thing of the past.

59 Francisco Bautista Pérez suggests that Sancho IV may have consciously patterned his portrayal of Alfonso II of Asturias after his own royal image (*España* 83).

60 "Del xviii año del reynado del Rey don Alfonso el catholico non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria pertenezca, sinon tanto que fabla de Flores e de Blancaflor" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 99).

61 "Trabajosse mas afincadamente de fazer seruiçio de Dios e de mantener el su reyno en paz e justiciar" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 113).

62 Arbesú-Fernández notes that the compiler brings this pas de deux between the Asturian kings and Flores to closure upon Flores's death, when his lands revert to Muslim rule, at which point "legend and history again see eye to eye" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 30).

63 Patricia Grieve writes that "if there is a single image that qualifies as a structural mainstay of *Floire et Blancheflor*, it is likely to be the ship" (100). The shipwreck motif also appears in the *Libro del cavallero Zifar* (Thomas 16). It is a characteristic feature of the Byzantine novel. In her discussion of Achilles Tatius's *Kleitophon and Leukippé,* Margaret Doody refers to the "usual shipwreck" (54). For an overview of the shipwreck in the Byzantine novel (both ancient and medieval) see Mulle (269–72).

64 "e esta es vna de las yslas que andudo el bienauenturado señor confesor Sant Bernaldo" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 115). The term *mar océano* is attested elsewhere in the *Estoria de Espanna* (Navarro González 331). No critic has been able to identify this St Bernard, but it might be a corruption of St Brendan (Baranda 31; Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 115n351). Brendan's *vita* mentions a number of islands he visited, including "the Island of the Three Choirs," "the Island of Ailbe," "the Island of Grapes," "the Island of Sheep" (i.e., the Faroe Islands). On the representation of the Augustinian order's growth in Spain, see Bautista Pérez (*España* 56–9). On the importance of the figure of St Augustine in *Flores y Blancaflor*, see Grieve (98–101).

65 "He received the prior of those monks very correctly and paid him all due respect" (Reçibio al prior de aquellos monges muy bien e fizole mucha onrra) (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 116).

66 "Luego que Blancaflor sopo en como aquellos buenos omnes eran cristianos, vinole amiente como le dixera su madre cuya fija era, e como vinien de cristianos. E desde estonçe tenia ella en coraçon de ser cristiana, si en logar fuesse que lo pudiesse ser. E una noche fablolo con el Ynfante Flores, su señor, diziendole que bien deuie el entender que quantos peligros passaran el e ella fasta que vinieran a aquella ysla que non fuera por al sinon porque Jesucristo querie que fuesen cristianos e que muriesen en la Su santa ley, e que le rogaua, pues que en aquel logar estauan do lo podien ser, que lo fuesen por el su amor" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 116). It is tempting to read this story allegorically as the messianic journey to Iberian Christianity, a narrative that finds its perfectly contemporary Jewish Iberian counterpart in Moses of Leon's *Zohar*, itself a massive biblical romance allegory of creation as a love story between *keter* (crown) and

*malkhut* (dominion), the male and female emanations of God. If we can indulge this allegorical reading, it is worth further noting that given the lack of a sovereign nation or dynasty on which to project the foundational (spiritual) romance, in the Jewish case it plays on a universal messianic (all of creation), rather than territorial (conversion of Iberia) stage.

67 "Que fuera catiuada en el su serviçio" referring to the fact that Blancaflores's mother was captured while on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 117).

68 "E por esto, que le querie dar en gualardon que aquella, su fija, que fuesse cristiana, e que del linaje della ouiesse en el reyno de Françia quien a El sienpre siruiesse" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 117).

69 Francisco Bautista Pérez writes that linking Charlemagne to a Spanish family tree is a "hispanization of the emperor" (hispanización del imperador) (*Francia* 40).

70 There are various legends of holy springs (*fuentes santas*) in which a Christian woman is attacked by a Muslim and left for dead in the wilderness, but cured by the waters of a spring that miraculously appears. For two Andalusian examples, see Carrasco Terriza (413 and 489). Lord Pelayo himself, whose beleaguered band of Asturian Christian stalwarts managed to resist a far greater Umayyad force at the site of a holy spring. In effect, local legends about holy springs and their curative powers (usually in high places and therefore, one would imagine, not contaminated by animal or human waste and therefore curative) were, in the age of crusades, transformed into sources of Christian resistance against Muslim tyranny. This is not unlike how ancient solstice mythologies are reinterpreted though the lens of contemporary politics: Christ as a light of resistance against pagan Roman occupiers (Christmas), the miraculous lamp used in rededicating the Temple after its desecration by Hellenized Syrian pagan occupiers (Hannukah). For a powerful revision of the Pelayo myth based on Arabic sources, see Arbesú-Fernández ("De Pelayo a Belay").

71 "E despues que Sant Agostin esto ouo dicho, dixoles mas: que otro dia vernien demandar bautismo el señor de aquellos moros e aquella muger, e que ellos que pedricassen a los otros e les mostrasen la creençia de Jesucristo, ca todo serie asi como el auie dicho. E depues que Sant Agostin esto ouo dicho e mostrado, tornosse para el çielo donde viniera" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 117).

72 It is worth noting that Gaydon is baptized in Cordova by the papal legate who has come to confirm the new bishoprics established by King Flores (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 119).

73 "When the Muslims heard this they were quite amazed, and as whereas they were in the beginning rebellious, in the end they came to be very good Christians" (Quando esto oyeron los moros fueron mucho

maravillados, e comoquier que en el comiençó fuessen rebeldes, a la çima fueron los mas cristianos) (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 124).

74 "He sent him a letter in which he begged him – seeing as how he wanted him to be his brother in Christ's law – that he send him a bishop to rededicate the mosques in his kingdom [as churches]" (Le enbio su carta en como le enbiaua muy afincadamente a rogar – que pues quisiera que fuese su hermano en la ley de Jesucristo – que le enbiase algunt obispo que restaurase las mezquitas de su reino) (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 124).

75 "Perdiose la tierra toda e ganaronla moros que vinieron despues" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 127).

76 See Arbesú-Fernández (*Crónica* 134n438). The text here also achieves in fiction the real-life African aspirations of Alfonso X and Sancho IV mentioned in our discussion of *Blaquerna* in the previous chapter.

77 "Dexa la estoria de fablar desto por contar como su fija la ynfante Berta fue casada con el Rey Pepino de Françia e de Alemaña" (Arbesú-Fernández, *Crónica* 135).

78 Charlemagne did not, of course, ever wage holy war against Jerusalem. However, Caliph Harun al-Rashid did allow Charlemagne to establish hostels for Latin pilgrims in Jerusalem and provided access for them to the Christian holy sites (Peri 42).

79 David Arbesú-Fernández marvels at how finely the fictional tale of Flores and Blancaflor is woven into the authentically historical material, calling it "an example of perfect harmony between history and legend" (Introduction 30–1), while Francisco Bautista Pérez notes the text's "total disregard (*absoluta despreocupación*) for historical truth" (*España* 51). Patricia Grieve notes that the story of the two lovers is "the rewriting of the reasons for the fall of Spain to the Saracens in 711, and the Christian Peninsula's response to that event in subsequent decades" (27).

80 Those few Arabic sources that relate the confrontation between Pelayo's band of Asturian resistance fighters and the Umayyad troops recount the episode in far more prosaic terms, when they bother to recount it at all. In their version, Pelayo's group takes refuge in the cave at Covadonga until the Umayyads lose interest and move on. There is no battle, no miraculous victory, nothing much of anything, really (Arbesú-Fernández, "De Pelayo a Belay").

81 In some cases, such as the *Caballero del Cisne* (see chapter 1), in which the mythical forebear of crusader hero Godfrey of Bouillon marries a swan, the romance takes a supernatural, mythological turn. These narratives are novelizations of mythological traditions that explain the hero's supernatural heritage, which in turn justifies the current political order. We see one such example novelized in *Tirant lo Blanch*, in which the hero's friend disenchants a princess transformed into a dragon, marries her,

and becomes the lord of the island (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 550–2; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 1042–9). Such medieval narratives of heroic biographies follow classical tradition in attributing supernatural or divine ancestry to historic, human leaders. This persists in northern Spanish traditional legends that tell of the supernatural origins of aristocratic houses, in which a noble's ancestor kisses a fairy (Asturian: *xana*) who is enchanted in the form of a dragon in order to make her revert to her normal form (Álvarez Peña 14). As we have seen in our discussion of both *Ziyad ibn 'Amir* and *Zifar*, the fairy wife motif was very productive in medieval literature, and continues to be so in the popular imagination in figures of princesses who marry enchanted prince-frogs. A recent twist on this motif is the film series *Shrek*, in which the princess believes she is a human cursed into the form of an ogre, but discovers she is in fact an ogre enchanted into human form.

**5 Fiction and History in *Tirant lo Blanch* (Valencia, 1490)**

1 Joanot de Martorell began writing *Tirant* in 1460 and worked on it intermittently until his death in 1468. Thereafter, at some time before its first edition, Martí Joan de Galba began to revise and expand the work. Martí de Riquer notes that it is very difficult to know where Martorell's work ends and Galba's begins, owing to the fact that the first edition is divided into chapters but not into books. Nonetheless, his opinion is that Galba's influence appears first in the chapters on Tirant's adventures in north Africa, and becomes increasingly marked throughout ("Martorell" 14). The work is published first in Valencia (1490) and then Barcelona (1497), and is translated into Castilian (Diego de Gumiel, Valladolid, 1511) and Italian (Lelio de Manfredi, Venice, 1538). It was later translated into French, English, and other languages. See Martin de Riquer's textual history and bibliography in his introduction to his 1982 edition ("Martorell" 95–108). On the work's reception, see also Mérida Jiménez.
2 "Trobam escrites les batalles d'Alexandre e Dari; les aventures de Lançalot e d'altres cavallers; les faules poètiques de Virgili, d'Ovidi, de Dant e d'altres poetes; los sants miracles e actes admirables dels apòstols, màrtirs e altres sants; la penintència de Sant Joan Baptista, Santa Magdalena e de Sant Pau ermità, e de Sant Antoni, e de Sant Onofre, e de Santa Maria Egipcíaca. E moltes gestes e innumerables històries són estsades compilades per tal que per oblivió no fossen delides de les penses humanes" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal xxix; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 115).
3 See chapters 190–202 (Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 632–43).
4 On the dream vision in medieval literature, see Goldberg ("Dream Report"); Palley; Lynch; Kruger.

5 The legend of Guy of Warwick, whom Allison Wiggins and Rosalind Field call "England's other Arthur" (xv), appears in numerous medieval versions, including texts written in Middle English, French, and Irish. According to Robert Rouse, Guy is a sort of crusader superhero who "vanquishes Saracen threats ... thus taking on the mantle of defender of European Christianity" (95). For a full accounting of the legend and its textual life, see the study of Velma Bourgeois Richmond, who dedicates a section to *Tirant* (153–62).

6 Roberto González-Casanovas writes that Tirant "seeks to regain the territory lost by Byzantium and to free the Eastern Christians from the terror of the Ottomans that appears to have robbed them of their traditional mission as a bulwark of Christendom and light to Christianity" ("History" 81). For Montserrat Piera, *Tirant* reframes the Christian Iberian conquest of al-Andalus as part of a larger, pan-Mediterranean Christian expansionist project ("Rehistoricizing" 50–1).

7 The question of realism in *Tirant* is important for those critics who see it as an important step in the development of the modern novel, especially due to its appearance in *Don Quijote*. Dámaso Alonso refers to its "different verisimilitude that goes beyond what is necessary for the narrative" (verosimilitud distinta añadida a la esencial de la narración) (182), Kathleen McNerney its "preoccupation with history and veracity" (37). Antonio Torres writes of its realism and "meticulous observation of reality" (observación minuciosa de la realidad) (15) that combines elements of reality and verisimilitude making it "a bastard child, a street urchin" (un hijo bastardo, un pícaro) (11) compared to the chivalric literature of the times. Steven Moore, who includes *Tirant* in his *The Novel: An Alternative History*, calls it "deceptively realistic ... [but] ultimately an artificial construction" (304). Harriet Goldberg writes not of realism in *Tirant* but of a "different, unreal[ism]" ("Clothing" 279). See also Sears.

8 Robert González-Casanovas points out that Llull had already formulated these ideas in the *Llibre de Contemplació* ("Religious" 101).

9 On the reflection of Roger de Flor in *Tirant*, see Riquer ("Martorell" 72–3) and Piera ("Performing Knighthood" 353–4). On the historical Roger de Flor and the campaigns of the Company see Lowe; Hillgarth (*Problem*); Agustí.

10 On fictionality in the *Crónica sarracina*, see Álvarez-Hesse; Brownlee ("Iconicity").

11 Marina Scordilis Brownlee writes that the chronicle and romance exist in a kind of "reciprocal relationship" ("Crossroads" 119). On fictionality in the *Victorial,* the memoir of Pero Niño, the Count of Buelna (1378–1453), see Pardo; Beeson Patton (38–45).

12 Martorell's knowledge of the Islamic world, including Granada, was most likely second-hand. María Rubiera Mata points out that Martorell had never even been to Granada, despite the fact that all of Alfonso IV of Aragon's ambassadors to the Nasrids were Valencians. According to her, Martorell would have gotten his knowledge of the Muslim world from literary sources and eyewitness reports (*Tirant* 39).

13 In Martorell's time, chivalry was already being replaced by mercantilism in Mediterranean port cities. Non-nobles were far more powerful in the Valencian municipality than nobles. By the mid-fifteenth century, non-nobles overwhelmingly outnumbered nobles in both chambers of the municipal government (Belenguer Cebriá 52). By Martorell's time, the knight was no longer important militarily, and a generation after the publication of *Tirant* would be, according to Noel Fallows "anachronistic" (*Jousting* 263–4). On the decline of dependence on heavy cavalry in the high Middle Ages, see also Gavin Robinson ("Military" 252–4). Iberian thinkers, under the influence of humanism, developed a doctrine of Roman chivalry with which Martorell and Galba where wholly familiar (Rodríguez Velasco).

14 See Hillgarth (*Problem* 51). Alfonso Lowe, in his study of the exploits of the Catalan Company in the fourteenth century, argues that this was true even of the Second Crusade, which he describes as a "business enterprise" (3).

15 On the Valencian *Segle d'or*, see Sirera (71–196), who dedicates a section to *Tirant* on pages 145–56.

16 See Meyerson (*Muslims* 65–8). After the conquest of Granada, however, Spain's attention focused with renewed intensity on the Ottoman threat (Goffman 12).

17 "Si ... podien ésser foragitats aquests genovesos, italians e llombards, ensems ab los moros, del nostre Imperi e regne de Macedònia, la mia ànima restaria consolada. Mas tince dubte de l'adversa fortuna que no faça pendre alguna mutació a la imperial dignitat, car grans dies ha que ens persegueix" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 203; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 397).

18 Anachronism in historical narrative is a way to link the concerns of the past with those of the present. According to Douglas Kelly, "the identification of the present in the past was the authentication of both past and present" (240). Because medievals understood the terms *historia* and *storia* as so closely related conceptually, anachronism did not emerge as a concept until early modernity, once the scientific method began to make inroads into historiography (Grazia 14).

19 "E sabeu aquest Carmany quanta terra senyoreja? Més que no és tota la França e tota la Hispània alta i baixa; e per ço ho dic, perquè só estat en la sua terra anant en Jerusalem; aprés fui mogut de devoció, aní a Sant Jaume de Galicia e passí per tota la Hispània" (Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 504).

20 See Bayo and Michael (117, st. 731). We have seen other cases of Christians representing Muslims as pagan idol worshippers in our discussion of *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* in chapter 1.

21 "Lo rei d'Anglaterra tornà ajustar més gent e sabé que los moros anaven conquistant per l'illa, fent morir molts cristians e deshonint dones e donzelles e posant-les totes en captivitat" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 8; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 124).

22 "si jo fos estat virtuós cavaller, ni sabés alguna cosa en l'art de la cavalleria, e destre en les armes, jo de bona voluntat serviria a majestat vostra e posaria la mia dèbil persona a tot perill de mort per posar en llibertat tant poble cristià, e majorment a la majestat vostra, de la qual serà gran dany que en tan gran joventut hajau ésser desposseït de la vostra real senyoria" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 11; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 129–30).

23 "defendre la santa Fe Catòlica, han batallat contra los infels e han obtesa gloriosa corona de martiri e triümfant glòria, confortat lo llur virtuós ànimo per la divina potència. Per què, pare reverent, m'agenolle als teus peus e ab aquestes mies doloroses llàgrimes te torne a suplicar que si ma passió que lo nostre mestre e senyor Déu Jesús volgué passar en l'arbre de la vera creu, per rembre natura humana, que hages compassió de mi, afligit Rei, e de tot lo poble cristià, qui tota la mia e llur esperança està en la misericòrdia de Déu, e en la tua molta virtut" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 11–12; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 130).

24 "em dispondré, si mester serà, d'entrar en batalla, així vell com me só, per defendre la cristiandat e aumentar la santa fe catòlica, e put me fonc mostrada la llengua morisca, perquè aturer baixar la supèrbia de la mafomética secta, ab pacte tal que ta excel·lència vostra que m'hajau per excusat" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 12; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 129–30).

25 "Fes-me dar unes vestidures de moro e veuràs lo que jo faré; car anant a la Casa Santa de Jerusalem fui en Alexandria, e en Barut fer magranes de certes materials compostes, que estan sis hores en poder-se encendre, e com són enceses bastarien a tot lo món a cremar, que com més aigua hi llencen més s'encenen, que tota l'aigua del món no les bastaria apagar, si ja no les apaguen ab oli e ab resina de pi" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 12; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 131–2). The reference is to *fochs grecs*, or Greek fire, in Aragonese called "fuego griego, fuego grecisco" and defined as an "incendiary mixture invented in Greece" (mixto incendiario inventado en Grecia) (Sesma Múñoz and Líbano Zumalacárregui 208), based on analysis of the *Libros de collidas de las Generalidades del reino* (tax records of all goods bought and sold in the Crown of Aragon). Several medieval Arabic sources refer to it as *nafth*.

26 "Luis de Torres, and he had lived with the *adelantado* of Murcia and had been a Jew and knew, he says, Hebrew and Chaldean and even a bit of Arabic" (luys de torres y avia bivido con el adelantado de murçia y avia sido judio y sabia diz que ebrayco y caldeo y avn algo aravigo) (Columbus 128–9). To be fair, Columbus did think he had reached India, where in 1492 one might well have found Arabic-educated Muslims (Qutbuddin 318–22).

27 "Seguí's aprés que lo gran rei de Canària, jove fortíssim, ab la viril inquieta joventut de nobles esperances guarnida, sempre aspirant a honorosa victòria, féu gran estol de naus e de galeres e passà a la noble illa d'Anglaterra ab gran multitud de gents, per ço com algunes fustes de corsaris havien robat un lloc seu. Pres en si molt gran ira e inflammat de gran supèrbia perquè algú havia tengut gosar d'enujar-lo, ab molt gran armada partí de la sua terra, e navegant ab pròsper vent arribà en les fèrtils e pacífiques ribes d'Anglaterra; e en l'escura nit tot lo replegat estol entrà dins lo port d'Antona e ab gran astúcia desembarcaren, e tota la morisma isqué en terra, sens que per los de l'illa no foren sentits. Com foren tots en terra ordenaren llurs batalles e començaren a córrer per l'illa" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 8; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 124).

28 The Danish King Aethelstan conquered York in 927 (Foot 18–20).

29 See Rubiera Mata (*Tirant* 12). An alternative explanation is one found in Asturian mythology, in which pre-Christians are referred to as "moros," not because they are believed to be Muslims per se but because they were not Christians (non-Christian = Muslim or "moro," even in pre-Islamic or pre-Christian contexts) (Álvarez Peña 136).

30 Martorell repeats this trope in the single combat between *Tirant* and the king of Egypt (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 265–6).

31 See chapter 19 (Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 170–1).

32 On Llull in *Tirant*, see Alemany Ferrer; Alemany Ferrer and Martos-Sánchez.

33 See Martorell and Galba, chapters 33–4 (*Tirant* 154–8).

34 The desecration of churches by Muslims is a commonplace of crusade discourse, which is curious when one considers that Islamic societies historically guarantee their Christian subjects freedom of religion, including the right to operate churches, gather and pray regularly, and generally live free of state-sponsored religious persecution. For an example, see the bull of crusade in the *Codex Calixtinus* attributed to Pope Callixtus II (Herbers and Santos-Noya 228–9).

35 "Jo só de l'Imperi Romà, ambaixador del Sant Pare, e só vengut per castigar a tu, qui est dissipador de la cristiandat, ab aquesta espasa nua que tinc en la mà, qui és molt cruel, e daré la mort a tota aquells qui volen destroir la casa de Déu" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 44; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 177).

36 Joseph O'Callaghan writes that "the kings of Castile-Leon asserted their responsibility to reconstitute the Visigothic heritage by the reconquest of Moorish Spain" (*Last Crusade* 227). On the "mito gótico," see also González Fernández ("Historiografía" and "Utopía").

37 "Jo us vull dir aquesta ciutat quant és antiga, car trobareu que aquesta ciutat ha gran temps que fon edificada e fon poblada de gentils qui eren gent idòlatre, e aprés gran temps de la destrucció de Troia foren convertits a la santa fe catòlica per un noble e valentíssim cavaller nomenat Constantí, e aquest fon mon avi, e lo pare d'aquest fon elet emperador de Roma, e era senyor de tota la Grècia e de moltes altres províncies segons copiosament recita la sua història, car com fon guarit de la gran malaltia que tenia per Sant Silvestre, féu-se crestià, e féu-lo Papa, e donà-li tot l'Imperi de Roma que fos de l'Església, e ell tornà-se'n en Grècia, e fon emperador de Grecia. Aprés d'aquest succeí terres de l'Imperi fon elet per Papa en totes les sues terres, e Emperador, e per ço com tenia molta humanitat e era home molt benigne, moltes gents d'estranyes terres se vengueren a poblar ací, e no cabien en aquesta ciutat. Llavors mon avi edificà la nostra ciutat de molt nobles edificis, e posà-li nom Constantinoble, e d'aqui avant fon nomenat emperador de Constantinoble" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 206; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 402).

38 The Knights of St John held Rhodes from 1480 to 1522, and were considered a bulwark of Latin military strength in the eastern Mediterranean during the period of Ottoman expansion (Brockman).

39 "Los turcs, for a de tota esperança de victòria, foren així ardents a morir que reputaven éser victoriosos si feien morir molts dels cristians, però volien-ho fer, coneixent la veritat e la justícia poca que tenien, ab les llurs mans cruels. Emperò entrada la vila, tants turcs com trobaven, tants ne mataven sens pietat neguna, e així passaren tots per el coltell temerós" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 234; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 453).

40 "Sabut és com tu ames la filla del Gran Turc e jo la de l'Emperador. La tua, mora; la mia, crestiana; la tua té cisma, la mia crisma. Per tot seria aquesta jutjada per millor e de major dignidat" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 266; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 506–7).

41 "que així com la pròspera fortuna havia acostumat de favorir los turcs contra les crestians, la divina Providència l'havia feta voltar per aumentar la glòria de Tirant" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 281; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 535).

42 To wit, villains transgress or contradict feudal, chivalric, or courtly love values, not Christian doctrine. In fact, at times their positions are more in line with Christian doctrine than those of the protagonists who practise courtly love. For example, in Chrétien's *Knight of the Cart*, the villain Meleagant is alone in condemning the adulterous love of Lancelot and

Guinevere (Putter 49). In many Iberian narratives, the convenient foil of not being Christian is enough to communicate villainy without exploring the villain's evil per se.

43 We see similar patterns in French representations of the "noble Saracen." There are inherently noble Saracens whose whiteness and inherent nobility moves Chrstian characters to long for their conversion to Christianity. In the *Chanson de Roland*, the narrator describes the Saracen Emir Balignant as tall and fair, exclaiming "God what a baron; if only he were made a Christian!" (Akbari, *Idols* 156–7). For readers of the Castilian *Cantar de Mio Cid* this formula will recall the well-known exclamation: "¡Dios, qué buen vasallo, si oviesse buen señor!" (By god, what a great knight, if only he had a good lord) (Bayo and Michael 78 v. 20).

44 "¿E com pots tu pensar que la mia real persona se pogués sotsmetre a un moro, ni lo meu cor, tan alt e generós, s'inclinàs a ésser amiga d'un perro moro, qui tenen tantes dones com volen, e neguna non és muller, car poden-les lleixar tota hora que es volen?" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 317; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 601). It is interesting to note the author's familiarity with this feature of Islamic law. The Qur'an likewise grants women the right to divorce their husbands at will (4:19) and requires the groom to pay the bride a surety (*saduqa* in 4:4 or *farida* in 2:237), in order that she have sufficient capital in case of an eventual divorce.

45 "E suplic la sua immensa Bondat que no em deixe fer coses qui sien contra la sua santa fe catòlica, que jo donàs per muller ma filla a home fora de la nostra llei. E venint a l'altre cap del que vull dir: per tot lo tresor que pagar porien lo Gran Caramany ni lo rei de la sobirana India, llibertat aconseguir no poden sinó ab pau de fe verdadera restituint-me tot lo meu Imperi" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 342; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 647).

46 "mon pare fon moro e la mia mare fon de la generació vostra, e d'aquesta part me ve amar-vos" (Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 468).

47 "E per quant essent jo infant de poca edat tenia contínuament tres frares de l'orde de Sant Francesc, mestres en la sacra teologia, e moltes voltes m'induïen a tornar-me crestià, e conec bé que la llei crestiana és de més noblea e millor molt que la nostra, e m'hi haguera tornat si no fos estada la mia mare, que m'ho tolgué ab les sues tristes llàgrimes, que cascun dia plorava davant mi fins a tant que de mi los frares féu partir" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 463; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 863–4).

48 For example, Tirant addresses the Saracen emissary as "Sidi" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 242; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 466). This is, of course, the same honorific by which the epic hero Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar is known: *Mio Cid* (combining here the Castilian possessive pronoun *mio* with the Andalusi/Maghrebi dialectical honorific *sid*, in classical Arabic *sayyid*).

49 "si ja ells no juraven a l'alquibla, en presència de tots los bons cavallers qui d'honor senten" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 231; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 446) (Rosenthal mistranslates as *qa'aba*). The practice of Muslims swearing on the *alquibla* in Christian contexts is documented abundantly. Belén Vicens Saiz relates an example from 1459 in which a Valencian Muslim is recorded as having sworn upon the *qibla* of a local mosque (142). See also Burns (*Islam* 217–18); Ecker 52.

50 "– Senyor, jo vull que ans de totes coses me façau lo jurament de la germandat, a l'alquible, com a moro, e aprés, com sereu crestià, altra volta com a crestià" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 484; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 907). Rosenthal mistranslates *alquibla* as "Kaaba."

51 "Aquest frare dessús dit, sabent que un capità crestià havia pres lo rei Escariano e havia quitats tots los catius crestians qui eren escapats de la galera qui es perdé, anà-se'n dret on Tirant era per demanar-li que per amor de Déu li fes alguna caritat perquè se'n pogués portar alguns catius que hi havia d'aquell regne de València, los més que pogués. Com Tirant véu lo frare, fon lo més content home del món e pregà'l que batejàs tots los qui restaven. E en aquells dies foren batejats quaranta quatre mília e trescents vint-e-set moros e mores, qui foren en camí de salvació" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 486; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 910–11).

52 "E lo dit frare era natural d'Espanya la baixa, d'una ciutat qui és nomenada València, la qual ciutat fon edificada en pròspera fortuna d'ésser molt pomposa e de molt valentíssims cavallers poblada, e de tots béns fructífera; exceptat espècies, de totes les altres coses molt abundosa, d'on se traen més mercaderies que de ciudat que en tot lo món sia. La gent qui és allí natural, molt bona e pacífica de de bona conversació; les dones d'allí naturals són molt femenils, no molt belles, mas de molt bona gràcia e més atractives que totes les restants del món; car ab llur agraciat gest e ab la bella eloqüència encativen los hòmens. Aquesta ciutat vendrà per temps en gran decaïment per la molta maldat qu en los habiadors d'aquella serà. D'açò serà causa com serà poblada de moltes nacions de gents, que com se seran mesclats, la llavor que eixirà serà tan malvada que lo fill no fiarà del pare, ni lo pare del fill, ni lo germà del germà. Tres congoixes ha de sostenir aquella noble ciutat, segons recita Elies: la primera de jueus, la segona de moros, la terça de crestians qui no vénen de natura [Rosenthal: 'Moorish converts'], qui per causa d'ells rebrà gran dan e destrucció" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 486; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 910).

53 The creation of a huge class of *conversos*, who were no longer Jews but were not fully accepted as authentic Christians, destabilized the boundaries between Christian and Jew, causing no little anxiety in Old Christian communities (Nirenberg, "Enmity and Assimilation" 153–4).

54 On the *converso* problem in the fifteenth century, see Rosenstock ("Nation"; *New Men*). In Valencia, scores of Jewish notables were forcibly converted to Christianity (Baer 2: 100). Thousands of new *conversos* moved into formerly Old-Christian-dominated fields of politics and commerce, sparking resentment (Meyerson, *Renaissance* 109). Alfonso de Cartagena wrote in defence of *conversos* in his *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (1449–50). Decades after the forcible baptism of Granada's Muslims, the Morisco Francisco Núñez Muley would defend the sincere Christian beliefs of Granada's Moriscos, on which see Vincent Barletta's translation of Núñez Muley's *Memorial* ("Memorandum").

55 "Tots quants jueus som en lo món restats, són tres llinatges, aprés que crucificaren aquell sant home e just qui fon nomenat Jesús, e aquest dins la gran ciutat de Jerusalem fon pres e lligat e posat en creu. La un llinatge és d'aquells que tractaren la sua mort; e si els voleu hui en dia conèixer, són aquells qui són bulliciosos que no es poden reposar, ans contínuament están en moviment de peus e de mans, e lo llur esperit jamés està segur, que no pot reposar, e tenen molt poca vergonya. Lo segon llinatge és d'aquells qui executaren l'acte com l'assotaren e el clavaren e el lligaren e el coronaren d'espines, e aquells qui jugaren la roba e li daven de grans galtades, e com l'hagueren alçat ab la creu li escopien en la cara. E los senyals per conèixer aquests són qeu jamés vos poden mirar en la cara de ferm, car prestament giren los ulls en terra o miren en altra part, e jamés poden, sinó ab gran treball, alçar los ulls al cel, així com fa aquest jueu qui vol ésser mon sogre. Teniu-hi esment, que jamés pot miar en la cara de la persona ni menys ot mirar al cel. Lo tercer llinatge és lo qui davalla de David. Veritat és que aquests hi foren, emperò no consentiren en res, e, moguts de pietat, se posaren en lo temple de Salamó e no volgueren veure tan gran maldat com feren a aquell home sant e just. E aquests tals que no hi consentiren, ans feren tot llur poder en delliurar-lo d'aquelles penes en què era posat, són afables e de molta benignitat e contracten ab pau e ab amor al proïsme e poden mirar per totes partes" (Martorell and Galba, trans. Rosenthal 466–7; Martorell and Galba, *Tirant* 870–1).

56 On Muslims and Moriscos in Spain after 1500, see L.P. Harvey (*Muslims*).

57 On Aljamiado literature, see L.P. Harvey (*Muslims* 129–36); López-Morillas ("Language" 54–7); Wiegers; Miguel Ángel Vázquez.

58 See Galmés de Fuentes, *Paris y Viana*; Wacks, "Muslim Readers."

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